This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

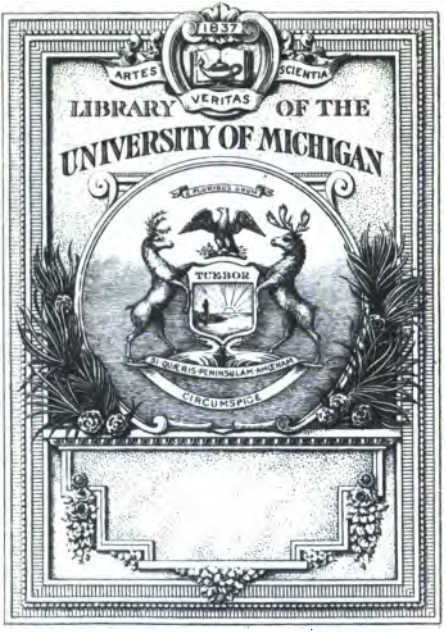
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`



Digitized by Google

IIG
55
.S5
A2

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Case 5 Shelf 3.

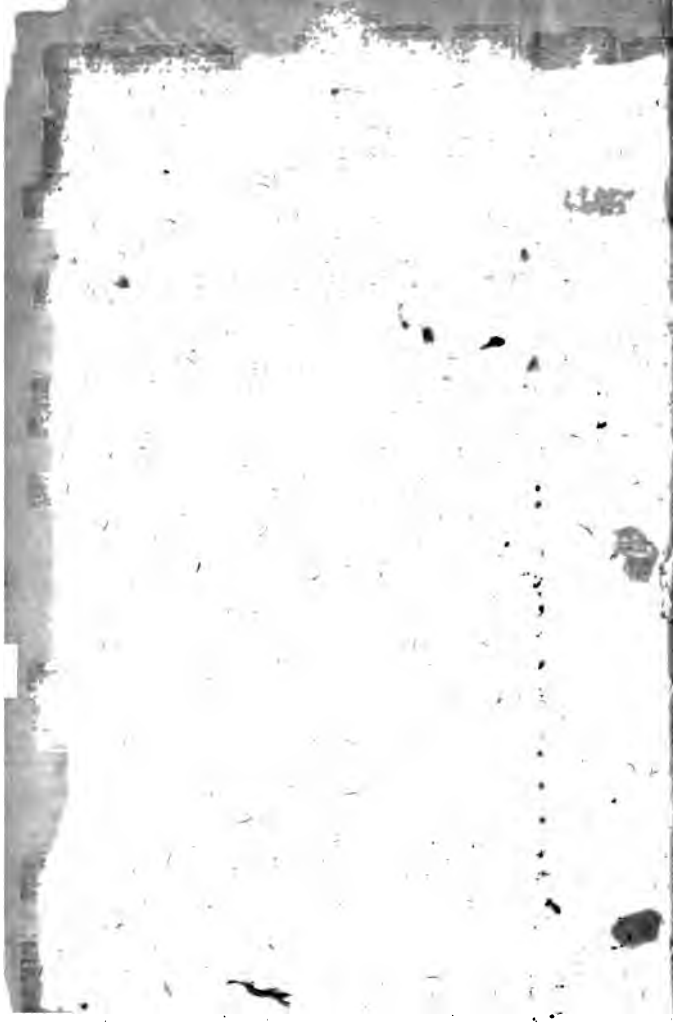
Tho: Foley

937
S5
P45

Ex dono Amic: mei Amicissimi

S: P:

Digitized by Google


Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE Syracusan Tyrant: OR, THE LIFE OF *AGATHOCLES.*

With some Reflexions on the practices of our Modern Usurpers.

by Richard Perrinchief

Ἂν δὲ δι' ἀπάτης ἄρξῃ τις, ἢ βίας, ἤδη δοκεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τυραννίς. Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 10.

The most High ruleth in the Kingdome of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth over it the Basest of men. Dan. 4. 17.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. F.* for *R. Royston*, Bookseller to his most Sacred Majesty.
MDCLXI.

Digitized by Google

Harding
8079
English - Hanford
2-7-1923

Digitized by Google

To the Right Honourable

THOMAS

Earl of

SOUTHAMPTON,

Lord High TREASURER of *England*, Lord WARDEN of the New Foreſt, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Majeſties moſt Honourable Privy Council.

Recd Feb. 10'28 BF

My Lord,

TO open the Grave of an Impious Tyrant, and to revive the memory of his deteſtable Villanies, may be cenſured as a deſign to infect the preſent

Digitized by Google
417271

Age, and to instruct by an accursed Example those who want onely the Arts, *not the* desires, *of doing Mischief. But if the unhappy Issues of such perverse Counsels cannot secure this* History *from such an Effect, (to which even the Sacred Stories and the most wholesome Laws are obnoxious through the Corruptions of men, whereby they imitate that which is proposed to their Hatred, and follow Their Practices whose Infamies they abhorre, and whose Ruines they tremble at;) yet the Compiler hopes by the Dedication of it to* Your Honour *to free himself from such suspicions. It being not to be supposed, that He intends to* teach, *but to* discover *the Impostures of Tyrants, and to warn the Credulous world to arm themselves against those Monsters, who presumes*

Digitized by Google

presumes upon the Patrociny of so great an Assertor of Piety *and* Justice. *For* (My Lord) *neither the* Nobility *of Your* Family *nor the* Plenty *of Your* Fortune *have so much commended You to the Admiration of men, as Your inflexible zeal to* Righteousness *and* Truth. *This was that which drew* You *forth to follow that Court in Persecution and Danger, whose Honours and Pleasures in times of Peace could not allure* You *from Your Retirements. And Your uncorrupted Faith to that* Righteous Cause *wherein all Just Government was concerned, I have heard force from the* Adversaries *of it an Elogie not beneath that which the brave* Fabricius *by his Vertue won from his Enemy, that* The Sun might sooner forsake his

Digitized by Google

courſe then My Lord of *Southampton* depart from Juſtice. *So that when the Popular Fury had overwhelmed the greateſt part of our Nobleſs in contempt, the Chiefs of that Faction teſtified an Obſervance almoſt Religious to You, as to an Inviolable Sanctuary of true Nobility and Honour. And they ſeemed to treat Your* Lordſhip *as the Conquering* Romans *did the* Captive Gods, *whom, even while they* chained, *they did* ſupplicate *with Sacrifices to remove to their triumphing City: ſo while they reſtrained Your* Liberty, *and invaded Your* Rights, *they did even then with a ſollicitous Reverence* court *Your approbation of their ſucceſsful Crimes. But as* Your Lordſhip *deſpiſed their* injuries, *ſo You ſlighted their* careſſes.

Digitized by Google

ſes. *And though You ſeemed unconcerned in their Oppreſſions, yet I have ſeen Your Indignation then ſwell'd high, when they profaned Juſtice by* pretenſions *to it, and blaſphemed Religion by imputing their Impieties to the ducts of the Immaculate Spirit and juſt Providence of God. As theſe Vertues,* My Lord, *are Your* Glory, *ſo I humbly crave they may be my* Protection: *And that as I was confirmed and heightned in a deteſtation of Unjuſt Uſurpers by Your great* Example, *ſo under the ſhelter of Your Honourable* Name *I may endeavour to render them Odious to others. Since, that the Wicked ſhould be expoſed to the Publick Hatred, as that the Good ſhould be rewarded with all that affection which*

Digitized by Google

is due to the Benefactors of Mankind, is equally the Interest of Vertue. All whose concernments being so dear to Your Lordship, that God, as well for His own Glory as for the advantages of Good men, may long continue You as a Light *in this* perverse Generation, *and prosper all Your Counsels, is the constant prayer of*

My Lord,

Your Honours

most humble and

most faithful

Servant,

R. P.

Digitized by Google

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE miseries which Tyrants usually bring upon that unhappy people who, by impatience of a just Government, and by their seditious attempts upon their Lawful Prince, have exposed themselves to the *Cheats*, and are at last inslaved by the *Power* of such Ambitious Persons, cease not with their Lives, but are extended to the following Age, and are apt to vex the next Generations. For although the Rapines and Murders (which are not the greatest unhappinesses of the Oppressed Vassals) may possibly end with the

Digitized by Google

the Empire of the Uſurper; yet thoſe debaucheries of the Spirits of Men, and the unquiet principles of Villany (the moſt ignominious brands of Slavery) which they introduced both to acquire and preſerve their Greatneſs, ſurvive their Authours, and like Venome infect the blood, when the Viper is kill'd that gave the wound. Hence comes it to paſs that ſuch a People, though freed from the Force of their Oppreſſour, yet tenacious of his Crimes, debauched by impious Habits, and diſtracted with various Factions, can never conſpire to their common Peace and Safety; nor with patience ſubmit to thoſe who would reſtore them the Benefits of Society and Government. Our Age hath had too freſh an Experience of this: for the Methods of Tyranny having been acted with ſo much Induſtry, and continued with ſo great Succeſs among us, though we are now (through the benignity of Heaven) in the enjoyment of all ſafe Liberty that is conſiſtent with Government, and which

can,

can be hoped for from a Juſt and Lawful Prince; yet have not men parted with thoſe Principles of Confuſion and Ruine which the Tyrants did impreſs, but like Waves that have been toſſed with a Tempeſt, find no Calm, though the wind be down that firſt raiſed them.

The method of curing ſuch a diſtempered Multitude is, to ſhew the Arts of their *Impoſtors*, and to diſcover that what was obtruded upon them as the Oracles of Heaven, or as the generous dictates of Free Souls, were but the accuſtomed cheats of former Tyrants, newly propoſed to an Ignorant and Credulous Generation. No diſcovery comes with more Evidence upon Vulgar ſpirits (who cannot weigh the force of Reaſon,) then that which is made by Example: Like the *Spartan* Diſcipline, who to preſerve their Youth (on whom Philoſophical diſcourſes would have made but ſmall impreſſion) from Intemperance, preſented them with the Indecencies of their drunken *Helots*. And *Menenius* did

did retrive the *Roman* Populacy from their Sedition by an Apologue, which is but a fictitious Example. Such (Reader) is the design of publishing this Historical Discourse, (which in the composing was intended but as a private Essay) of the Life of a Tyrant; which hath such a conformity with the *Monster* of Our Times, that who reads the actions of the One, cannot but reflect upon the practices of the Other. So that it may seem to confirm the Opinion of those who imagined that All humane affairs had a Circular motion, and that no Age produces any thing so prodigious that may not have its parallel in another. And it would give some credit to the *Pythagorean* Transmigration: for comparing the Arts and Success of Both, in rising from an abject condition to most absolute Soveraignty, and how in Both Tyranny was acted to the height of Injustice, one of that School would fancy that the Soul of *Agathocles*, after several peregrinations through the forms of Tigers, Wolves, Foxes,

Digitized by Google

Harpies

Harpies and Vultures, with some diversions in humane shapes, as of *Mahomet*, *Borgia*, and such other enemies of Mankind, it had at last vexed the world under the name of *OL. CR.*

It would be too great a distrust of the Reader's Judgement to anticipate his thoughts in drawing a Parallel: the disagreements being but few, and those more properly to be referred to the distant Times and Scenes wherein they acted, (to which Both did accommodate their designs) then to any difference in their temper of Spirit or variety of Lusts: Impiety, Perfidiousness and Inhumanity being the equal delights and exercises of either. So that, though they coasted different Countries, yet they sailed by the same Compass, and aimed at the same Port of Power and Greatness. In nothing more doth the Ancient seem to exceed the Modern Tyrant then in his Cruelty: yet even this is not imputable to a more tender sense of Humanity in one then the other, (*For he that dares*

some-

ſometimes be wicked for his advantage, will be alwaies ſo if his Intereſt require) but to a fear of loſing the emoluments of that more powerful and proſperous cheat, the pretenſion to Sanctity; which being to be ſhadowed with a ſeeming Meekneſs, would have been too plainly diſcoloured by too frequent effuſions of blood. But if when we would cenſure the Crime, we conſider not onely the *quantity*, but the *worth* of the Blood, the *Sicilian* will not appear more odious then the other. Since the Blood of a Pious, Juſt and Lawful KING, ſpilt with ſo much diſhonour to Religion and contumely to Juſtice, laies a more heavy guilt in the eyes both of God and Good men then rivers of Plebeian gore. Beſides, that horrid *Parricide* inevitably exciting ſeveral attempts for Juſtice, the ſlaughters of thoſe brave Souls that endeavour'd it did accumulate the guilt contracted by their Soveraigns Blood. So that the cutting thoſe Royal veins opened ſuch Sluces in all the *Britiſh* Empire, that the Earth was not more

Digitized by Google

con-

conſtantly wet with the ſhowres of Heaven, then it was yearly polluted with the blood of ſome Loyal perſon and lover of the People's Rights and Liberties. Blood of this tincture he was obſerved to drink with a guſt; though he was nauſeous of that of his own Party: whom, when their divided Intereſts made them contrive his Ruine, or provok'd his ſpleen, he uſed as the *Romans* did their offending Veſtals, whoſe blood, becauſe they were conſecrated to the ſervice of their Gods, they never ſpilt, but incloſed them under ground with ſome ſmall proviſions, that ſo they might periſh without pity and unobſerved. So thoſe that had been once conſecrated to the *Good Old Cauſe*, it was unneceſſary to take away their Lives, which were hateful, becauſe they had adminiſtred to his Grandeur: but degrading them from his truſt, and permitting to them ſome remnants of the ſpoils of Iniquity, he expoſed them to periſh in want and obſcurity.

In theſe other Crimes whereby Uſurpers

ſurpers make their way to Dominion, the Wickedneſs of this Laſt was more tranſcendent, and ſuch as made our Bondage more ignominious, and our Miſeries more laſting. For not to mention thoſe frequent Perjuries, thoſe horrid Blaſphemies of referring all the moſt damnable Projects to the Impulſes of the Spirit and Returns of prayer; Religion never received a more fatal Wound then by this Modern Impoſtor. For when the Majeſty and Reverence of that ſtood like a ſtrong rampire of Juſt Authority, and like a mighty ſtream ran croſs to his deſign; he undermined it by introducing notions agreeable to his Intereſt, made it contemptible by the baſeſt of the People whom he made Prieſts, careſſed every Hereſie, raiſed and increaſed new Schiſms, and ſo cut it into ſeveral chanels and ſmall Rivulets, to make it fordable for his aſcent to Dominion: and by proclaiming a Spiritual Liberty, reduced it into ſo many Atomes, that nothing but what was fortuitous could unite them in a ſolid

body

body to oppose him. Not content with these injuries to Religion, he proceeded to extirpate those eternal rules of Right and Wrong, which even Nature had impressed upon the Minds of Men. For by his Instruments new Schemes of Justice were composed, new rules of Obedience and Government were framed according to the Institutes of Tyranny. The sacred Religion of an Oath, the foundation of Society even in the most barbarous Nations, was among us published no longer obliging then till an inconvenience ensued. Thus as *Caligula* took off the heads of those Images of the Gods that were most worshipped, and set his own upon them, that he might receive the adorations of the people: so did this Usurper pervert those Oracles of Life, the Laws of God and Nature, that we might receive onely the Dictates of his Lust and Interest, and be guided by the deceitful Impulses of his deluding Spirit.

How far he prevailed by these Arts in vitiating the sense of Religion and

Justice in men, appeared too evident in the servile Flattery of those *Addresses* which were made to his contemptible Successour. In which the Composers by a prodigious Sacriledge having rifled all the Sacred Records, and thence took those attributes of Glory with which as Jewels God had adorned his choicest Servants, and had given them as Odours to embalm their Memories to Posterity, applied them to his successful Wickedness. So that they seemed to have forgotten what Vertue and Righteousness were, when they crowned Impiety with the rewards of Goodness.

And how pregnant the Principles he had acted by were of Destruction, by the just Judgement of Heaven was experienced on his Infamous Issue, they being ruined by the same practices by which himself had destroied the lawful Government; the Children of his Example destroying those of his Blood; the ministers of the Father's Villanies being the Executioners of the Son's Empire. Nor was

Digitized by Google

the

the miſchievouſneſs of his Arts confined within his own Family, but like an infectious Contagion ſpread it ſelf over the whole Nation. His Example exciting every bold hand and violent ſpirit to invade the Government: and his Principles ſerving to colour the proſperous Invader's Perfidiouſneſs to his ſupplanted and complaining Predeceſſours. That Power would they to day deſpoil and vilifie, with whom it was on their Hearts the day before to Live and Die. What they bewailed yeſterday as their Backſliding, to day they would practiſe as their Saint-like Obedience to the Call of God. So that by reaſon of theſe different Actings, ſometime as Men, and another as Saints, like creatures of various elements, there was no faith among themſelves, nor conſtancy in their Wickedneſs, but varying their Crimes, and together with their Guilt increaſing our Miſeries, the Sun ſeldome roſe but he ſaw the ruines of that Government which he had left at his ſetting, and the erection of a new. And Peace

Digitized by Google

and Quietneſs were ſet at ſuch a diſtance from our hopes, that they could not be expected but after a Deſolation.

Then which effects though nothing could be more convincing of the deſtructiveneſs of ſuch Principles and Practices, that they neither proceeded from God, who is the Authour of Order and Government, nor agreed with Juſtice, which is the preſervative of Peace: yet becauſe they ſo impudently pretended to an Extract from Heaven, and ſeemed to be owned by it in an uninterrupted Succeſs againſt a Lawful Soveraign, and are ſtill importunately urged by Perſons of no juſt hopes, and whoſe broken Intereſts are impatient of a calm; they are as yet received by ſome deluded Souls as Oracles, and as the ſober dictates of right Reaſon; and the miſchievous Conſequences are reputed the depravations of the Actors, not the legitimate Iſſues of the Principles. But as the Divine Records do vindicate the Immaculate Purity of God (from whom nothing proceeds which doth not make

Digitized by Google

men

men happy in obedience to it) from having any benigne influence on such destructive counsels, and right Reason doth free Justice from any alliance with such wicked practices: so the History of all Ages will testifie that these have been the artifices of Ambitious persons, who seeking a criminal Greatness, have devested themselves of all sense of Vertue; do by these waies delude and distract the minds of men, that so being weakned by their own Factions, and disarmed by vitious habits, they may more easily be oppressed by them. And this History of *Agathocles*, transmitted to posterity by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Justin* (from whom it was gathered) will evidently shew, That *the most subtle Method of overthrowing an ancient Government established by Law, is to subvert the actions and counsels of the present Magistrate*; That *those that have the extremest Tyranny in projection, will be the greatest pretenders of the Publick good, and the most importunate asserters of the People's Rights*; That *it is the most compendious way of imposing Slavery*,

Digitized by Google

very, by raising in the Multitude too eager and passionate desires of Liberty; That *in a corrupted and disquiet State, the most Contemptible member of that Community may without the help of a Miracle arise to Soveraignty*; That *it is not the Indulgence of Heaven to the Usurper, but the Indignation thereof to the People, when Success attends the Tyrants enterprizes*; That *Power acquired by Fraud or Violence will never be imploied in the exercise of Justice*.

These therefore being the onely fruits that are to be expected from the unquiet Principles and deluding hopes which designing Demagogues infect the People with; Wise men have constantly advised that even the Vices of Bad Princes are to be born with the like Patience as we endure Dearths and Tempests, and other deviations of Nature from her usual course. And this not to flatter Offending Kings, (who at a most dreadful Tribunal are accountable for their disobediences to their Eternal Superiour,) but in affection to mankind, and pity of the deceivable

Digitized by Google

ceivable Multitiude. Becauſe though Princes, as they are Men, may be Vitious, yet as ſuch are not Immortal, and a Pious Succeſſour may repair all the ruines of a former Oppreſſour. But when the People will uſurp the Office of Heaven, whoſe Prerogative it is to chaſtiſe Kings, and to cut off the Fury of Princes, and they themſelves will correct their lawful Magiſtrates, God moſt ſeverely puniſhes them by ſuffering the baſeſt of men to ride over their heads. And the Primitive Chriſtians thought it not onely their *Duty*, but their *Prudence*, by prayers and tears onely to ſeek the deliverance of Heaven from the injuries of a Governour, rather then by oppoſing their lawful Sovereign to adminiſter to a Tyrants Ambition, who, according to that Maxime, *of changing all things that were under the former Governour*, muſt deface Religion to maintain his Power, and on the diſhonour of Piety build his Greatneſs.

We have had experience of the Anger of Heaven for our Sins, in giving

Digitized by Google

us over to the deluſions of men, who ſought and acquired Power by ſlandering a *PRINCE* whoſe moſt Eminent Worth we underſtood not, till our ignorance had made Him and us miſerable. Which Power being ſo impiouſly got, was not otherwiſe uſed: For the Treaſures and Ornaments of many Ages Peace were waſted and conſumed by their Oppreſſions in a few years. And we are now under the return of Mercy by a Lawful Soveraign. Both Conditions may teach us to meaſure the Benefits and Inconveniences of Government as they are in their own nature: and not by the ſiniſter interpretations and ſeditious Harangues of Unquiet perſons, who will calumniate even the juſteſt Rulers and the wiſeſt Counſels. And if the diſcovery of the methods of Tyranny, which is made in this Hiſtory, may contribute any thing to effect a juſt hatred of ſuch practices, or eſtabliſh ſober Minds in a thankful acquieſcence in that Gracious Providence which hath reſtored our ancient Government,

Digitized by Google

verument, and given us a Prince instructed both by Affliction and Mercy in the best arts of Empire; the Compiler hath attained his chiefest ends.

Farewell.

ERRATA.

PAg. 5. l. 23. r. *hating*. p. 18. l. 5. r. *for*. p. 89. l. 12. r. *for*. p. 113. l. 6. r. *councils*. p. 185. l. 14. r. *impresi*. p. 201. l. 3. r. *provoke*. p. 234. l. 26. r. *Ambicas*.

THE

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE General CONTENTS of the ſeveral BOOKS.

LIB. I.

THE Introduction. The neceſsity of Government. The cauſes of the Changes of Government. The Miſeries that attend thoſe Changes. Occaſions to Uſurpers. The requiſites of an Uſurper. A Tyrant in Title will be a Tyrant in Exerciſe. Agathocles *an Example of Uſurpers.* Agathocles's *Birth; the prediction of his Cruelty and Greatneſs. The uncertain Original of ſuch Predictions.* Agathocles's *abject beginnings, baſer Youth, and infamous introduction into employment. His Seditious practices cauſe a change of Government at* Syracuſe. *His flight from thence, and vain attempts for Tyranny abroad. His return home, and another change of Government. His exploits in his Command. The City's*

Digitized by Google

City's Jealousie of him, and his Banishment. His War against Syracuse. Amilcar *reconciles him to his City, and they revoke his Banishment. He practices the arts of a Demagogue: gets the office of Prætor, and Keeper of the Liberty of* Syracuse. *His plot to get an Army fit for his purpose, by whom he massacres all the Senate and chief Citizens. By dissimulation he prevails upon his associates in the Massacre, to force the Principality upon him. The* Sicilians *confederate against the Tyrant.* Acrotatus, *chosen General of the League, by his Vices overthrows the enterprize.* Agathocles *designs the Empire of all* Sicily: *by fraud seizeth upon* Messene. *The Exiles send an Embassy to* Carthage. *The Death of* Amilcar. Agathocles's *success against the Exiles.*

LIB.

Digitized by Google

Lib. II.

THE Carthaginian *War.* Amilcar *the ſon of* Giſgo *choſen* General, *who by his wiſe conduct reſtores and heals the loſſes of his ſhipwreckt Army, and raiſes up the hopes of the* Sicilians *to be delivered from* Agathocles, *who had ſurprized* Gela, *and murdered the Citizens, and afterward fighting* Amilcar *is overthrown. His counſel of tranſferring the War into* Africk. *His preparations for that deſign. The difficulties of getting forth of the Haven. An Eclipſe frights his Army, which he dexterouſly interprets: gets ſafe to the ſhore of* Africk, *where he burns his Ships. The* Punick *Fleet gather up the beaks of his Veſſels, and ſend them with the news to* Carthage, *which before was terrified with the affrighted relations of the* Africans. *They chuſe two Generals to oppoſe the* Sicilians. *The Reaſon of ſuch a choice. They fight* Agathocles, *and are overthrown. The* Carthaginians *refer their*

Digitized by Google

their loss to their angry Gods, whom they endeavour to appease; send for aid from Amilcar, *who in vain besieges and assaults* Syracuse *when the news came of the Tyrants Victory. Who wins more upon the* Carthaginians, *while* Amilcar *intending to storm* Syracuse *is taken and kill'd. His baffled Army divides, and the* Agrigentines *aspire at the Empire of the Island. The Tyrant's Army dangerously mutinies, which he luckily appeases, and turns their fury upon the Enemy, whom he also follows and beats in* Numidia. *He invites* Ophellas *to the War, and basely murders him.* Bomilcar *attempting the Tyranny at* Carthage *miscarries, and is crucified.* Agathocles *assumes the title of a King, and masters the* Uticenses *by an inhumane Stratageme.*

LIB.

Digitized by Google

Lib. III.

AGathocles *returns to* Sicily, *to obstruct the Success of the Free League, against which he thrives, till* Dinocrates *declares himself for it, who forces the Tyrant to retreat. His fortune declines in* Africk, *his Army beaten and besieged.* Agathocles *preparing to return thither gets two Victories: under the pretence of a Thanksgiving for which, he discovers and murders all that he could not confide in at* Syracuse. *Afterwards he sails to* Africk, *where all was desperate. From whence, after some vain attempts, a strange Terrour of his Army, and his own Imprisonment, he basely flies back to* Sicily, *leaving his two Sons to the fury of his deserted Army: who when they had slain them, make Peace with the* Carthaginians. *The Tyrant landing in* Sicily, *destroyes* Ægesta; *commands another Massacre at* Syracuse. Pasiphilus *revolts from him; which frights him into a Treaty with* Dino-

Digitized by Google

Dinocrates, *in which he offers to relinquish the Tyranny. The Treaty not taking effect, he fights the Army of the League, and by treachery overthrows them, and murders seven thousand that did surrender upon composition. He receives* Dinocrates *into favour, and employes him. He takes away the consecrated Treasure at the Isle of* Lipara, *invades the* Brutii, *and is beaten; surprizes* Croton; *associates with Pirates, and confederates with* Demetrius, *by whom he is perswaded to renew his War with* Carthage. *He is prevented by death, through the Conspiracy of* Mænon *and* Archagathus *his Grandchild, because he had made his younger Son* Agathocles *his Successour in the Tyranny.* Mænon *poisons the Old Tyrant, and* Archagathus *kills the Young one. His Tortures, End, and Character. The state of* Syracuse *after his Death.*

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

litas.

THE TYRANT, OR, The Life of AGATHOCLES.

Lib. I.

THE ſecurity and comforts of humane life conſiſt in *Society*. *Society* cannot be preſerved without *Order*. For although by it men are ſecured from a forein force, yet in it are they ſubject to inteſtine injuries; and when Neceſſity makes no warre abroad, Ambition and Covetouſneſs will raiſe ſome at home. (Theſe being ſo impetuous and reſtleſs

Digitized by Google

affe-

affections in the breasts of men, that they never leave them, even after the largest acquisitions.) For man naturally is greedy of every thing, yet so weak that he can acquire but few: so that the desire being too great for the power of acquisition, there arises a dissatisfaction with the present condition, when it is secure, and an endeavour of altering it, though with the ruine of another's fortune. This immoderate desire in some men of more then they have, produces a fear in others of losing what they doe enjoy; and from both these arise Jealousies, Enmities and Injuries, which in the issue undermine Societie, and render it more dangerous then Solitude, and make Communities of men more obnoxious to ruine then heards of Beasts. Therefore *Order* must set bounds to some mens Lusts, and fences for the security of others.

Order cannot be observed without *Government*, which is the Intrusting some persons with the care and power of maintaining this *Order*. And that it may the more effectually attain its End, Heaven hath declared it as its own Institution, and impressed upon it the lustre of Divine Authority. But as Pearls, though they have their Original from the dew of Heaven, yet must be formed and solidated in the Sea and the wombe of a Shel-fish, which as it is more or less disposed by Nature for such a production,

Digitized by Google

duction, renders the Jewels proportionably great and orient: So *Government*, though it derives its extract from a Divine Institution, yet because it is to be managed by Men which are subject to Corruption, doth often prove too uncertain a guard for so great a treasure as is the publick good and common safety. Because the Trustees of this power may either through the depravedness of their affections distort it to the satisfaction of their private lusts; or by an imprudent menage, give umbrages of suspicion that they will pervert it to the common ruine. So that such impotent persons being in Government, bewitched with the sweetness of Command, and passionate to inlarge or preserve that power in the unlawful exercise thereof, make frequent invasions upon the Liberty of others. And those that are under Government, pinched with the difficulties of obeying such unequal Commands, and labouring to keep their liberty entire, strive to extend it even to Licence, till it becomes inconsistent with Government. Hence arise Discontents, Jealousies, and Changes of Government, which to sick minds, like the turnings in bed to sick bodies, are hoped for remedies: and what men cannot find under one kind of *Magistracy*, they will seek in another; and therefore do either contract or enlarge the subject of their trust of Power, according to the sense of their present Grievances.

If a Community at first, either by Choice or Necessity, are united under one Head in a *Monarchy*, while He or his Successors intend the publick good for which they were designed, the memorie of their first Institution and the sense of the present Benefits provoke from their Subjects (not corrupted with too much Felicity, nor debauched with the subtle Slanders which Seditious persons cast on their Prince) a Veneration next to that which is due to Heaven; an Universal Love and a delight to obey being the constant Returns to their Cares and Hazards for the publick Security. But because all worldly things are in a continual Motion, and there is either a progress to perfection in that which is good, or else a precipitate declination to evil, and *men are most easily corrupted in the supremest Fortunes, where Lusts may have the advantage of being armed with Power:* such as received the highest Command as a reward of Vertue either in themselves or Ancestors, do sometimes abuse it to license the most horrid Crimes; imagining Rapines, Adulteries and Capricioes of Power the rewards of Principality, wherein they onely receive but a fading Pleasure, and leave to their Subjects a perpetual sense of Loss and Dishonour. Hence comes it to pass, that those who by Vertuous Practices might have maintained the reputation of Earthly Gods, by these wicked Courses degenerating beneath the nature of

Digitized by Google

Beasts,

Beasts, become hateful and terrible to mankinde.

Hate and Fear are alwaies pregnant with Conspiracies. Conspiracies that prove successfull (for otherwise they advantage him whom they design to ruine) are sooneſt formed and moſt dexterously managed, not by such as are fearful and weak, but by persons of generous spirits and active Souls, who are moſt tenderly sensible of injuries, and moſt impatient under them. These being exalted above the reſt of the injured Multitude by the greatneſs of their Minds, and made more powerful to accompliſh the design by the riches of their Patrimonies, the liberality of their Education, and the Nobility of their Families, become the Chiefs of the Community for Security, and Revenge on their unjuſt *Monarch.* He being extinguiſhed, the People transſlate the Reverence which before they were wont to pay to a single Prince, on theſe persons whom they look upon as their Deliverers.

These having the Government of a single Person, and fearing the return of the same Miseries from another *Monarch*, or else pleased with the present Adorations of the Multitude, do retain the Government among themselves, which seated in such and so many persons is called *Ariſtocracy.* These in their beginnings bound their power with such Laws, as (being

made in the freſh memorie of the former Tyrannie) appear very tender of the Common liberty, and preferre the Publick to the Private Intereſt. Which adminiſtration of Juſtice, partly through the Novelty, (which alwaies hath much of the People's hopes,) and partly through the Cares of the New Governours (which are commonly moſt ſtrict in their firſt undertakings) to manage all concernments with the moſt exact moderation, is entertained ſome time with honour and conformable obedience. But *men ſeldome uſe Dignities with the ſame good arts whereby they acquired them, and aſſume another heart in the Palace then what they wore in their private families.* So that corruption either aſſaults their very perſons, or in a ſhort time ſeizeth upon their Succeſſors; who unacquainted with the Inſtability of Fortune, and inſenſible of the diſmal Conſequences of publick Injuries, grow inſolent with their preſent ſtate, diſcontent with equality, and forming Factions among themſelves, reduce all power into a few hands, and change the *Optimacie* into an *Oligarchie*. Thence falling into the debaucheries of the former Tyrant, and their Number making them leſs tolerable, they incur the ſame hatred, and meet with the like ruine. For the People haraſſed by ſo many importunate Oppreſſors, will ſoon offer its miniſtery to any bold hand that will offend their deteſted Governours. Neither will

there

Digitized by Google

there want unquiet Spirits, that will take advantage of the People's anger and assistance, both to ruine them, and raise themselves in the Popular esteem.

When the *Oligarchie* hath lost that power which they knew not how to use, and the People are free to another choice, the memory of injuries by a Prince being not yet dead, and the brands of slavery by more numerous Tyrants yet fresh, the People are unwilling any more to trust after so many abuses, and therefore reserve the Government in themselves, which then receives the name of *Democracie*. This form of Government after it hath spent that stock of Vulgar affection which is used to be given to every thing in its first beginnings, discovers that they have embraced Licence instead of Liberty; and whereas all *Government* should be the preservative of *Order*, this fills all with *Confusion*. The body of the Society is torn into several Factions, and of one Community it becomes many. The Laws are neither framed nor executed for the publick Utility, but for the advantage of the several parties, each by its course in Magistracie endeavouring to depress the contrary, and elevate it self. In this State, as in routed Armies, every one commands, and none obeyes; the most prudent must be directed by those that have no skil to command, and the wisest follow

the dictates of the ignorant rabble; those that are fittest to give the safest counsels, must by a simple obedience be the instruments to perform the decrees of ruine. Heroick Vertues and brave Examples are as dangerous here as under the worst of Tyrants, and both the Love and the Hate of the People are equally dangerous. So that this Government lasts no longer then till the universal calamities (which come speedily) dissolve it; or some ambitious Officer takes from the Multitude that Liberty which they could not long keep; or some discreeter Citizen perswades them to seek for peace and safety in the paths they have forsaken, and to return to Principality again.

These are the usual stages which Government treads; and as the Persons are qualified in each state, it makes the shorter or longer abode. But in every change, as the Sun in his removal to the several Tropicks, leaves the last squallid and deformed with cold and darkness, so *Government leaves the last intrusted with it in ruine and desolation.* And the quicker the motion is, the more pregnant it is with destruction. For Ambulatorie Government is like the Planets which, observation tells us, both at their rising and setting bring Storms and Tempests: so the ruine of the old, and the erection of a new form, wast and tire those unhappy people that live under them. Bad Governors

vernors being like Malignant ſpirits, which when they are exorciſed torture more eagerly the wretches they are to forſake; and theſe are induſtrious to ruine all with their fall, and that an univerſal flame might be kindled by their Funeral Pile. On the other ſide, new and hopeful frames of Government, though they are as deſirable as Children to leſs-fruitful wombs, yet, like ſuch, come not into the world without pangs and throes, and ſometimes begin their lives with the death of their Authors.

But in nothing are changes and corruptions of Government more noxious to a Community, then in that they are often inlets and occaſions to *Uſurpation*, adminiſtring opportunities to ambitious ſpirits of uſurping Magiſtracie againſt the Peoples conſent, and contrary to the juſt pretenſions which other Perſons may have to the ſame. For from all theſe ſeveral forms of Government declining to a diſſolution, do Tyrannical *Uſurpers*, like Prodigies that are generated of Corruption, ariſe. And when ſuch do prevail and attain to power, that wretched people that are ſubject to it muſt expect the worſt of miſeries which are derived from Impiety and Injuſtice. For Uſurpers being the products of ſuch, are, as every thing is to be preſerved by its Principles, to be maintained by the ſame.

Digitized by Google

To

To an *Usurper* no Qualities are more requisite then to contemn God, vilify Mankind, and hate all Religion and Justice. He must know and dare to be exactly wicked, and never intend any good beyond the appearance. He must pretend an affection to Religion, but it must be onely that he may deflower it; not by it to contract a friendship and league with Heaven, but that he may more easily cheat, and execute his malice upon men. Faithfulness and Truth must be esteemed by him as the most dangerous Rocks on which his Power would shipwrack; therefore his Oathes and Promises are like those monstrous Chymæra's, whose upper and more visible parts have an humane and beautiful aspect, but in their extremities become most noxious Prodigies. He permits the pleasures and lovely names of Mercy and Pity to soft souls and just Princes; but neither time, supplications, or satiety, which use to soften others, can mitigate a Tyrants fury, which is raised by his own jealousies: for he must punish Suspicions as manifest Crimes, and circumvent the Innocency of others to cover his own Guilt. He must injure all he fears, and hate all he hath injured.

To those unhappy people whom he hath enslaved, he must endeavour to leave no more then the names and shapes of men, and that their humane bodies be but false harbours for brutish

Digitized by Google

brutish Souls. If it be possible, he must raise out those principles of *Liberty*, *Vertue* and *Reason*, which Nature hath impressed on the Spirits of men. For to be Vertuous under a Tyrant is to undermine his Empire, because good Examples upbraid his Weakness, and rebel against the Customes of his Lusts, which he would have as a Law. And Reason hath more light in it then will suffer a Tyrants arts to be undiscovered; therefore he will murder all those whom he cannot corrupt, lest they should be guides and lights for the recovery of Freedome; and secure himself in the next Generation by introducing a barbarous Ignorance, which shall obstruct the waies to Prudence: and by vexing Vertue with ignominy and danger, (as the *Romans* punish'd criminal Virgins, first deflouring them by the hangman, and afterwards strangling them) he extirpates the love of it out of the breasts of men. He interprets Friendship and Love among his vassals as a dangerous Combination, and therefore breaks all the ligaments of a Community which Religion or Nature have formed in it, that he may twist the cords of Bondage stronger. *Religion*, which is the most binding cement of humane affections, he renders weak by its variety: and when the People cannot agree about their *Gods*, they seldome conspire to any publick benefit, or against a Common Enemy, as a Tyrant is. Or else he embases it with

Digitized by Google

the

the alloy of wicked and abject Principles. Men being seldome more generous then the Deities they worship, and their spirits are but level to their Devotions. *From the Courts of Usurping Tyrants crept those monstrous Idolatries of Calves, Dogs, Cats and Crocodiles.* Their civil and natural unions must be broken also. Publick conventions, where converse creates a familiarity, and that a mutual confidence, as also publick Feasts, which are the sinews of acquaintance, are either wholly forbidden, or made dangerous by his Spyes, who are to gather up the loose speeches of men made free by wine and excess, and form the simplicity of Table-talk into compacts of Treason: so that by such treacheries an universal diffidence is created, and members of the same City become as strange to each other, as if they dwelt under the opposite Poles. Nor can a Tyrant be safe, unless he dissolve the private as well as the publick unions. Therefore Wives are bribed with their own dishonour, a licence for a wandering Lust and assurance of Alimonie, to betray their Husbands. Sons by too early hopes of Patrimony are sollicited to rifle their Fathers cabinets, unlock their secrets, and expose them to the Tyrants bloudie fury. And Servants have a liberty beyond manumission to make their Masters bondmen. For while every house flames with contention, the Usurper may, like *Nero*, securely sing and play. Their

Digitized by Google

Fortunes

Fortunes must be no better then their Souls; for he must make them poor and needy, that all their cares being employed for necessary subsistence, they may have no leisure to contrive their Liberty. While his *Gabels* waste their goods, he must make Warres to consume their multitude, lest the contemplation of their Number produce a confidence in their strength, to break that power which doth oppress them. For *Tyrants measure not their power by their own force, but by the weakness of their miserable Vassals.* His Instruments of slavery must be such that either have no Reason to dispute, or no Conscience to scruple the most impious Commands, whose Fortunes are made by his spoiles of villany, and whose safety onely depends upon his service. Yet when they have performed his work, he uses them as the *Roman Ædiles* did beasts and malefactors in the Theatres, when they would recreate the People in their *Spectacula*, make them accuse and destroy one the other: so they fall with the publick applause whom before he had objected to the publick hate. For their obsequiousness to his lusts cannot secure them from his fury. Because *instruments of great crimes do even with their sight upbraid him that employed them.* Or else he fearing that what they have done for him, they may practise against him, therefore he will serve them as those that killed the Post-horses by which they

Digitized by Google

they fled, leſt others ſhould uſe them in their purſuit.

Theſe are the Inſtitutes of Tyrannie, which the practices and dictates of former *Uſurpers* have tranſmitted as Oracles religiouſly to be obſerved by ſuch whoſe blinded Souls prefer Power to Vertue, and an ignominious Greatneſs to the Innocency of a Private life. And under ſuch a Magiſtrate that ſhall conceive theſe as the Reiglements of Empire and Myſteries of State, what can the People expect, but the greateſt miſeries a Societie can be ſubject to? To which kind of puniſhment incenſed Heaven moſt commonly condemns an unquiet people, who corrupted with Plenty, and grown wanton by a long Peace, become impatient of Laws; and diſcontent with lawful Governours; that when they know not how moderately to uſe a juſt Liberty, they might be made ſenſible of the heavieſt Slavery. *Uſurpers proving to be the moſt inſupportable Tyrants.* For although a lawful Prince may poſſibly degenerate into Tyranny; yet hath he no neceſſity nor incentives to it: becauſe when his own Vertues, or the happy memory of his Anceſtors, have commended him to the People's Love, and he enters upon his Dignity with their Conſent, he cannot imagine (unleſs infatuated to deſtruction) any ſurer *baſis* for his Power then what

Digitized by Google

what He first stood upon, the Affections of his Subjects, and the Justice of his Title: But an Usurper that either by force or deceit hath imposed upon them, doth in his very entrance create causes of Hatred in the People, and of Fears in himself: thence flow the contrary desires of Revenge and Security in each other, which are not to be satisfied but by mutual Injuries. And he that wrestles with the People's hate, will find himself as born under the Starre of *Hercules*, who when he had cut off one of the *Hydra*'s heads, had his labours renewed by the sudden production of many more: and while a Tyrant seeks to secure himself by injuring one of his suspected Enemies, he will provoke a multitude more eager for his ruine. So that he shall find himself necessitated, if he will keep what he hath wickedly got, to repeat his Crimes, and increase their miseries, till they become uncapable of Liberty, stupid under their calamities, and neither desirous nor able to take revenge.

Of the barbarous effects of this kind of Tyrannie no place was evermore sensible then the Island of *Sicily*, a Country continually teeming with these Monsters, who endeavouring to enslave their Cities, and perpetuate their Dominion, made that Island the Thea-

Digitized by Google

tre

tre of Misery and Villany. And among all those plagues of mankind and disturbers of Society, whose acts Antiquity hath transmitted to posterity, none have their memorie branded with more eternal marks of Infamy then *Agathocles*, whose bloody Artifices and execrable practices to raise himself from an abject and base condition to an absolute Soveraignty, and from being the most contemptible part of a Community to arrive at such a power as to trample upon the Liberties of his City, made the Ancient Historians never mention him without the Title of *The most Impious*. And *Machiavel*, the modern Critick of Policy and grand Instructor of Tyranny, singles him out of the whole Herd of antique Monsters as the singular Patern of Tyranny and Example of such that by Injustice and Impiety will acquire Principality: in whose ascent to Greatness he acknowledgeth no advantage by Vertue, nor any favourable assistance from Fortune; but that all his Power was the sole product of a monstrous Wickedness, which will appear in this History of his Life.

Agathocle.

Digitized by Google

AGATHOCLES the *Syracusan* Tyrant was the son of *Carcinus*, a native of *Rhegium*, a City in *Italy*; who being baniſh'd from thence, had ſeated himſelf at *Therma*, one of the Cities in *Sicily* that were then under the Dominion of the *Carthaginians*. Where taking to Wife one of the Citizens daughters, and ſhe having conceived by him, he was continually diſquieted in his ſleep with horrid dreams concerning the child his Wife was then pregnant with. To put an end to theſe terrors, and to be aſſured from the Gods what the iſſue ſhould be of what his Dreams did but confuſedly and imperfectly repreſent, there was preſented to him this opportunity. The *Carthaginian* Commander in *Sicily* was at that time diſpatching ſome Embaſſadors to the Oracle at *Delphos*, to enquire of the Event of ſome publick deſign. Theſe men *Carcinus* acquaints with his preſent inquietudes, and deſires them to conſult the Oracle concerning his expected Iſſue. They ſatisfied his deſire, and received from the Oracle this anſwer; "*That he which ſhould be born ſhould be a cauſe* "*of exceeding great miſeries both to the* Car- "thaginians *and all* Sicily. Which anſwer allaied not, but increaſed the diſquiets of *Carcinus*: for he was now tortured betwixt

the fear of the *Punick* wrath, if he ſhould foſter their future Enemy, and his Paternal affection, which diſſwaded him from ſacrificing his own Child whom the Gods had deſigned to ſome great employments, (or otherwiſe he could not cauſe ſuch troubles:) that he might ſecure the *Carthaginian* fears, that were but his imperious Oppreſſors; and for the quiet of *Sicily*, which was but his ſtepdame. But at laſt his fears, as is uſual, prevailed over his other affections; and therefore leſt the breeding of his Child ſhould be the cauſe of both their deaths, he expoſed it to periſh in publick, and ſome were appointed to watch its end. But *it being impoſſible to reverſe the Decrees of Fate, which though foreknown, are not to be avoided*; his life outlaſted the patience of the Watchers, who being tired in their expectation, became more negligent in their charge: which afforded his Mother an opportunity to ſteal him away by night. But not daring to bring him home, leſt ſhe ſhould renew his danger, or conſulting the ſafety of her Husband, ſhe commits him to the care of her Brother *Heraclidas*, and calls him after her Fathers name, *Agathocles*.

This is the relation of *Agathocles*'s firſt coming into the world; a Birth proper for a Tyrant, wherein he proved terrible and dangerous

gerous to those that were the Authors of his life. But such Prodigies and Predictions as these are of a dubious credit and uncertain Original. For although the Longanimity of Heaven, that unwillingly punishes the sins of men, may and doth sometimes, by means that seem most proper to its infinite Wisdome, before it strikes, warn the World of those plagues that shall come upon them: yet most of these Oracles which we meet with in History are post-nate, and after the fact invented and published; and that from various beginnings. For sometimes *the Vulgar, who are more Superstitious then Religious, will either find or frame a Prediction for every great Event:* Because they being ignorant of the true Causes of things, and not able to observe the progress of Effects, but considering the Event in its full product, cannot but admire it, and therefore attribute it to that power which onely can work wonders; and so seek or make a Decree of Heaven, that should convey the Issues through so many seeming difficulties. Hence also it came to pass that when men of obscure births have performed great actions in the World, their descent not fully appearing, when their actions were full of splendour, they have imagined their Vertue was to be their Herald, and so did derive their pedegree from the Gods; as *Hercules* from *Jupiter*, and *Romulus* from *Mars*. And because the Divine Providence,

willing to shew that its sole power, and not the prudence of Men, doth make them great, doth often expose such in their Infancy to great dangers, whom in their riper years it intends to advance to mighty Honours; thereby beginning to demonstrate its force, when Prudence cannot pretend to their preservation: the Vulgar likewise fits by their fancies, for those whom with admiration they behold raised from low beginnings to unexpected Greatness, such entertainments in the World as must require the care of the Gods for their preservation. Thus the *Romans* formed the beginnings of their *Romulus*, and the *Persians* for their *Cyrus*, and the Inhabitants of *Spain* for their King *Habis*.

Nor are the rude Multitude the onely authors of such fabulous Miracles, but Tyrants themselves, which accommodate their designs to the Vulgar fancies, are frequently the very Oracles that frame Predictions concerning their own grandeur. For these either designing the change of their Republicks, or being already seized of power, do labour to make the world believe that Heaven is of the Plot, and concerned in their preservation: nothing being more prevalent upon the minds of men then Religion, which Tyrants by these Oracles make use of, to produce an awe in their oppressed Vassals, that they should not vainly attempt

to

to break those chains which Fate hath imposed on them, and by their efforts upon their Oppressors, seem to undertake a fruitless warre, to reverse the Decrees of Providence. Thus *Lysander* projecting the change of the Government of *Sparta*, would engage the Gods in the design, and corrupted the Priests to forge Oracles for the same. *Agrippina's* ambition to have her Son reign, prompted her to disperse a Miracle to make way for it, that the Gods to preserve him for the Empire, had appointed two Serpents to be the Guardians of his Infancy. *Catiline*, to inflame *Lentulus* to burn *Rome*, fed his ambitious and empty Soul with some dark Oracle out of the *Sibyl's* leaves. And such who have grasped at great designs, have laboured to make the world believe that there was alwaies some commerce betwixt the Gods and them. *Scipio Africanus* would never undertake any action, before he had some time sate in the Capitol in the Shrine of *Jupiter*; from whom he would be conceived to be inspired with some Heroick airs: so that his Souldiers with confidence followed that Leader whom they believed the Gods directed. *Ennus*, a Slave in *Sicily*, pretending inspirations from the *Syrian* Goddess, soon gathered up an Army of sixty thousand men, who, as if they seemed to follow the commands of the Gods, stoutly assisted this their imaginary King, and overthrew four *Roman* Prætors with their forces.

Digitized by Google

ces. *Sandracot*, a Greek Fugitive, having by Art reduced a Lion from his natural fierceneſs, to come and lick the ſweat of his body, perſwaded the *Indians* that the Gods had deſigned him for Empire by ſubjecting the Beaſt to his ſervice; and he was readily accepted by them for their Prince, and employed to recover their Liberty from the Captains of *Alexander*: who freeing them from that yoke, did oppreſs them with his own Tyranny. So eaſily do the multitude follow that choice which they believe Heaven hath made; admiring him whom they fancy the Gods have loved, and fearing to offend thoſe who pretend a Deity to be their Guardian. Which natural reverence of Heaven and Religious ſimplicity in the minds of men, the Tyrants make their firſt advantage to aſcend to power. And it is poſſible that *Agathocles* was no leſs impudent to deceive the people and abuſe the Gods this way then he was in his other practices, and had compoſed this Miracle when he firſt imagined to compaſs the Tyranny; founding his firſt hopes of Dominion in a Superſtitious fear of the credulous multitude.

The Fate of *Sicily* and the *Carthaginians* having thus preſerved him that was to be their Scourge, he was brought up by his Uncle *Heraclides*, and grew to be of a comely countenance, and luſty frame of body beyond his

Digitized by Google

his years. When he came to seven years of age, his Father *Carcinus* was invited by *Heraclidas* to a Sacrifice: where seeing *Agathocles* playing together with some of his mates, whether through some secret motion of Nature, or by the rarity and pleasantness of the sight, he was much affected with the beauty and vigour of the Boy. His Wife observing it, did immediately suggest unto him, that just such an one their Son would have been had he not been so inhumanely exposed. *Carcinus* professed that he was sorry his fears had transported him beyond natural affection, and to shew his resentment, exceedingly wept. His Wife conceiving his present affections to comport with her design, acquaints him with the whole story, how she had saved the Child, and that this was the same. He was extremely pleased with the relation, and with joy received his Son, whom Providence and the affection of a Mother had so preserved: but doubting lest the receiving of his Son to his own house should quicken the remembrance of the Oracle, and so expose them both to the *Carthaginian* Fury, he removed his narrow Family out of their Dominions, and planted himself at *Syracuse*, the stage on which his Son was to act those various Scenes of Blood and Villany.

Carcinus at his new habitation was so poor and destitute of friends, that to maintain him-

Digitized by Google

ſelf and his Family, he emploi'd himſelf in making of Pots, and taught his ſon the ſame trade, that he might contribute ſomething to his maintenance. Which occupation, being the Embleme of abſolute Dominion, did ſeem to habituate his haughty and aſpiring Soul to the practice of a boundleſs Power; and by compoſing clay to the forms of his own fancy, he did inure himſelf to module Societies and Commonwealths to the *Ideas* of his own Luſts and intereſt. In this mean trade *Carcinus* and his ſon did onely wreſtle with neceſſity and poverty, and could never increaſe his ſubſtance to the Cenſe of a Citizen; and therefore a long time lived as a burden, not a member, of that Community: till ſuch time as *Timoleon*, the Scourge of Tyrants, having freed *Sicily* from thoſe Monſters, to repleniſh *Syracuſe*, which the cruelty and horrid attempts of thoſe Uſurpers had almoſt depopulated, did grant the priviledges and immunities of the City to all that would come and inhabite there: at which time *Agathocles* with his Father were inrolled among the Citizens, and did enjoy that Liberty which he was ſhortly to ruine.

Carcinus not long after dies, and leaves the care of this young Potter to his ſurviving Mother: who in a feminine fondneſs of her Son, would needs ſet up his Effigies made in ſtone

Digitized by Google

in

in one of the Temples of *Syracuse*. On which a swarm of Bees did one day settle, and made their little Cells of wax betwixt the thighs of it. The *Augurs*, and such as addicted themselves to the vain curiosity of the future, being consulted concerning this accident, gave this answer; "*That when her son came to years of maturity, "he should arrive to great dignity.* A conjecture which, because it was answered in the Event, became an observation, and was transmitted to posterity. Whereas *the greatest part of* such *vain Auguries are buried in oblivion, when the success makes them not authentick.*

From these low beginnings did *Agathocles* arise to a Principality. Thus the Providence of Heaven sometimes, to mock the pride of Princes, and baffle the Insolencies of Greatness, as also to assert its own absolute over-ruling Power, doth permit the inhabitants of the dunghill to possess the Palaces of Kings, and gives the Kingdomes of the world to the basest of men. He that shall observe and consider the Examples that are in ancient and modern History, will find how much of Mockery there is in all humane affairs, and how short-sighted that which we call Humane Providence is to foresee and prevent future events; for when jealous Cities have provided for their Liberty by the banishment of their most potent Citizens, and the Ostracisme of such

Digitized by Google

who

who by their noble extracts and descent from imperial Originals are most to be suspected to impose upon the rights of their Country, they have been many times inslaved by some contemptible member of their Community. And frequently in Kingdomes, not those whom Fame or Hope destined to Empire, but whom Providence hath in secret reserved to be the future Prince, have ascended the Throne. And the highest Commands, which men conceive the due reward of all Vertues, and the portion of the best-descended, are yet sometimes given to the vilest persons, and the Majesty of Empire profaned by most abject exercisers of that power, as Slaves, Thieves, Fencers and Shepherds, or such like dregs of the people. This happens not but through the just Indignation of Heaven against an unquiet and sinful people, when not contented to bear the moderate Rule of lawful Princes, they are condemned to serve such reproachfull Lords. The *Romans* bewailed the malignity of their Fortune when they were forced, in preserving their Dignity and defending their Associates, to send forth just Armies against such theatrical Princes, as if they had been honourable and lawful Kings; and as it were ashamed of their Victory, they thought the majesty of a Triumph would be polluted if it were granted to the subduers of such imaginary Commanders. The ignominy there-

Digitized by Google

fore

fore of the Tyrant must needs aggravate the bondage of those that are compelled to serve him. And by how much they are removed from the just hopes of the supreme power, they are so much the more immoderate in their pride and ambition when they arrive unto it; their Souls being, like half-famished stomachs, insatiable with Dominion. In the exercise whereof they are like Comets, which being but Exhalations of the earth, when they are raised to the height, and kindled to the brightness of a Star, do portend ruine to the greatest persons and the best families. So such contemptible men elevated to power do rage most against the better and most vertuous parts of a Society, and seek to hide the baseness of their own, by spilling all the nobler blood. And as subterranean fires which first feed upon the roots, and then consume the entrails of great mountains, do from thence spread ashes and ruine upon the adjacent Valleys and neighbouring plains; so do such men, fired with ambition, labour to undermine the Optimacy, which are the supereminent parts of every Community, and then diffuse vassalage and misery upon the Populacy. And such did *Agathocles* prove to be to the miserable *Syracusans*.

Agathocles's Birth and Childhood, though poor and obscure, were yet more polluted by his

his vitious Youth and his following converſation. For he was more infamous by the courſe of his life, then for the meanneſs of his birth; becauſe *not the beginnings, but the progreſs of our lives are the ſubjects of our choice, and it is that which renders us capable of ſhame or glory.* And as Vertue is not intailed upon Patrician families; ſo by no Decree of Fate or law of Nature is it proſcribed from Plebeian breaſts: but ſuch as can boaſt no glory of their Anceſtors, may yet be admired for their own Heroick actions. And many of thoſe great actions which the world hath wondred at, have been performed by perſons who were obſcure in their Originall, and had no advantage for Fame from their birth. *Vertue whereſoever it is placed, draws the reverence and affection of men*; who behold Gallant perſons as they do fair and great Trees, in which are commended the ſtraightneſs, height and bigneſs of the Trunk, and the large extent and beauty of the Branches; but ſeldome is it inquired of the meaſure and depth of their Roots. *Rome* never repented the prodigality of her Honours in ſix Conſulſhips to *Marius* a Plebeian, while ſhe received no leſs glory and ſafety from his conduct then from any of her Patrician Conſuls; and while he was contented to receive, not force the people's favour, which *is uſually moſt prone and indulgent to new appearers*

Digitized by Google

in

in the State. But when his Ambition made him impatient of rest, and he would ravish, not court, his City's love, and snatch those Honours which she had designed to others, he appeared in his seventh Consulship no less dangerous to his own Citizens in peace, then he was to their Enemies in war. So that not his Birth, but his Vices disgraced his former dignities, and exposed him to the publick hatred.

But *Agathocles* his Youth was more disgraceful then his Trade, and continued the ignominy of his Infancy with the dishonour of his riper years: for being of a comely frame and lovely visage, he did allure, and prostitute himself as a common *Bardacio* to every man's Lust who was able to pay the reward of his infamy. And that he might not be unacquainted with any iniquity, he afterwards transferred his Lust from men to women; that as before he injured the Wives by diverting the affections of their Husbands, so he would abuse the Husbands with the Dishonour of their Wives. And in these practices he spent his first years, living so contemptibly, that he was without any esteem or regard, as one that had no Fortune to be sollicitous to preserve, nor any Credit or Modesty to be tender of.

But by these baser Arts he at length got in-

Digitized by Google

to

to favour with *Damas* one of the wealthiest *Syracusans*, by becoming his Pathick, and into the affections of his Wife, by being her Gallant. This man's favour brought the Potter into the Militia of the City, and in the discharge thereof he was so incouraged and assisted by him, that he was put into a condition of thriving, and a way to raise his Fortune. For *Damas* being made Commander in chief of the *Syracusan* army which they employed against the *Agrigentines*, when one of the Colonels were dead, he preferred *Agathocles* to that Command, who had before shewed himself not unequal to such an employment, being of a vigour and courage fit for great actions. He also had made himself considerable among the *Vulgar*, who *alwaies look upon things extraordinary*, by accustoming himself in all his military exercises, to use such heavy and strong arms as none else could easily manage. But being now made Colonel, he had more advantage to get a popular name and esteem among the Great and eminent, though not among the Good. And his preferment rendred more conspicuous all those his other advantages which he had either by Nature or Art. He was of a comely presence, and a large stature (which to the Vulgar are marks of Rule) an high and immoderate spirit. He had a mixture of good and bad Arts. He was as well industrious as he was luxu-

rious,

rious, not less popular then arrogant, base and infamous in his pleasures when he gave himself to them, but sollicitous and bold when he conceived it expedient; he was hazardous in his attempts, a despiser of dangers, impudent and passionate in his harangues, and so usually prevailed upon the *Multitude*, who *are more easily perswaded and moved by what appears, then by what truly is:* and he seemed to have all things requisite for Fame, but an honest Soul. To all these at length was added that other advantage of *Wealth and Riches, which are the keys to Greatness, and make the accesses to Honour more safe and open.* For *Damas* dying, and leaving his estate to his Widow, she became the Wife of *Agathocles*, and her Dowry put him into the Cense of the richest Citizens, and raised his desires beyond the level of a private person: for having a long time been vexed with Poverty, and now suddenly grown wealthy, he could not well dissemble the change of his Fortune, but was immoderate in those desires which had by a long Poverty been hitherto suppressed.

The unquiet state of the Commonwealth, either by Factions at home or Wars abroad, gave him frequent opportunities of promoting his designs, and improving his esteem among the Vulgar. For commotions in a State are like

like Earthquakes, which as they sometimes swallow up pieces of land that have been long inhabited, and much adorned with the arts and Edifices of men, so do they sometimes thrust forth into the world some new pieces of ground, which though barren at first, may be capable of the same ornaments with those which are lost: so in Civil broils many ancient Families and eminent Persons are overthrown and destroied; and in their stead arise new men to receive the Honours and reverence of the people. No Societies are more subject to such seditious commotions then *Democratical* Polities, where all things being carried by the rude, ignorant and popular breath, they are often managed by ambitious persons to the shaking of the State, who endeavour to overwhelm others, to raise themselves. In such a Commonwealth did *Agathocles* live, which was therefore more obnoxious to his Arts; and he neglected no advantage that seemed favourable to his design. Therefore the *Syracusans* having decreed to send an Army to relieve the City *Croton*, that then was besieged by the *Brutii*, *Agathocles* gets himself to be created by the publick suffrage a Colonel in this Expedition; but the chief command was intrusted to *Sosistratus* and *Heraclides*, men that had a long time lived by oppression, rapine and blood, and had made themselves powerful by exceeding Crimes. In this service *Agathocles* having behaved

Digitized by Google

behaved himſelf ſtoutly, was notwithſtanding, through the Envy of *Soſiſtratus*, denied thoſe Honours and rewards which he conceived due to his archievements.

This injury coming ſo croſs to his deſigns, as checking his courſe to popular eſtimation, he could not digeſt; but his ſpirit boiled with anger and hatred, that others ſhould have the Glory of that which he thought was the proper effect of his Valour, and that he ſhould be obſcurely expoſed to fruitleſs dangers: nor was he leſs grieved at his Enemies Honour then at his own Wrong. Therefore to ſatisfie his revenge, and to trie another way to Fame, which was to make himſelf great by enmities with great men, and for which he was alſo fitted by Nature, being of a round and ſmooth diſcourſe, skilfull in raiſing ſlanders, and bold enough to proſecute them, powerful at Factions and popular diſcontents; he leaves the Army and makes haſt home, where he challenges the liberty of a free City, and accuſeth *Soſiſtratus* and his party (of the greateſt Crime in a Popular State) as invaders of the common Liberty, and ſuch as intended a Tyranny. But the *Syracuſans* neglected theſe accuſations; either becauſe their Commonwealth was defective in its conſtitution, as having not provided for a way whereby ſuch accuſations even of their moſt potent Citizens might be

throughly examined, (which would have been much for the ſecurity of their Liberty, becauſe it would have terrified any conſultations and conſpiracies againſt it, and have opened a way and courſe by Law for Citizens to vent their paſſions and humours one againſt another, and not neceſſitated them to extraordinary waies and private force, which do ſoon ruine the Commonwealth;) Or *Soſiſtratus* his greatneſs and ſucceſs had ſecured him againſt the force of any impeachment, ſo that the people were not willing to take notice of that crime which they could not puniſh, or of that deſign which they could not prevent. For *ſometimes treaſons are with more eaſe avoided when they are not underſtood, and are more dangerous in ſo potent a perſon when known, then when they are onely in deſign.* Or elſe the credit of *Agathocles* was ſo low, that he could not raiſe a belief in any that he could be ſollicitous for the publick good; or that this was any thing elſe but a ſally of his factious Spirit. His attempts being ſlighted, he was forced to ſuppreſs his preſent Accuſations.

But *Soſiſtratus* returning home victorious from *Croton*, the *Syracuſans* loſt more by the Victory then was fought by the war; for he being proud with his ſucceſs, and conſcious of his own deſigns, and doubting that the accuſations of *Agathocles* had made him obnoxious

Digitized by Google

noxious to the peoples jealousie and anger, he changes the form of the Government into an *Oligarchy*, establishing the Supreme power in some few of the Nobless, and making himself the chief of the party: by this way consulting his own safety: it seeming evident to him there could happen nothing more dismal in his enterprise, then what he was to expect in a modest and private condition. This though at first it seemed to secure *Sosistratus*, yet was it of a pernicious consequence both to himself and the City in the issue of it. For *to change the Government and the accustomed Orders of a Society must needs offend many persons; and where there are many malecontents, some wretched accident may be every day feared.* Besides the Example it gives to others to the same attempts, which will adjust the most horrid practices that are done in imitation: for *Examples stay not where they began, and though at first they be admitted but in a part, yet at last invade the whole; and when men have once declined from the rule of Justice, they are precipitate to that which is evil: no man conceiving that dishonourable for him, which hath proved beneficial to another.* So that this practice of *Sosistratus* and his party did in some measure honest the future proceedings of *Agathocles* against them, and licence his projects for Tyranny.

Yet at preſent *Agathocles*, that had found no Juſtice from his Enemy when he ſerved under his command in the war, could not now expect ſecurity from him in peace, who had the whole power of the City, and was exaſperated by his accuſations; and as formerly he felt his Envy, ſo he was now to fear his Revenge, and therefore forſakes the City. And becauſe he was thus obſtructed in his courſes to Principality at home, he intended to attempt it abroad. To this end he gathers up in *Sicily* a company of ſuch as were accuſtomed to robberies, by hopes of larger booties and more ſplendid rapines. Theſe he diſpoſes into the ſpecies of a juſt Army, dividing them into ſeveral Companies, and marſhalling them under diſtinct Leaders, to be the fitter to receive and execute his commands. With this thieviſh Army he ſails over into *Italy*, and watches all opportunities for ſpoil and Tyranny. The firſt that felt his attempts were the *Crotoniates*, for whoſe liberty before he had behaved himſelf ſtoutly even to envy: and now as if he had repented of his Vertue, or to ſhew that though he was not willing they ſhould ſerve others, yet he deſired they might be his Slaves, he endeavours to ſurprize their City. But being diſcovered and encountred, he was beaten back with great loſs of his company. With ſhame and the reſt of his beaten forces he flies to *Tarentum*, where he with his company

Digitized by Google

company were received into pay as mercenary Souldiers for the defence of the City. But his immoderate thirſt of Greatneſs, and his unquiet ſpirit, which grew more eager by repulſes, would not let him reſt; *(So pertinacious is that hope which great deſires do conceive)* that even there he practiſed to arrive at Principality, and inſtead of a Servant to become Maſter of the place. But his deſigns being divulged, he was caſhiered, and with his Faction and party driven out of the City.

Thus everywhere unfortunate abroad, he is preſented by Fortune with an opportunity of returning home, and revenge on his adverſaries. For the *Syracuſans* were about that time in hoſtility with the City *Rhegium*, and had ſent an Army to beſiege it under the Conduct of *Soſiſtratus*. *Agathocles*, that was then maintaining himſelf and his ſmall party by Robberies, hearing of it, gathers together all the Exiles that were in thoſe parts of *Italy*, and other Vagabonds and Thieves, and with ſuch forces attempts to raiſe the ſiege before *Rhegium*: and ſo happily accompliſhes it, that he broke the Army of *Soſiſtratus* with ſo great a rout, that he became contemptible to the *Syracuſans*. *The contempt of a Magiſtrate doth alwaies uſher in his ruine.* For the people encouraged by his overthrow, and exaſperated by the inſolency of the *Oligarchy*,

Digitized by Google

chy, who had incurred the publick hatred, and animated by some secret practices of *Agathocles*, took up arms, and forced *Sosistratus* and his party, which were about six hundred, all Instruments or Members of the *Oligarchy*, to quit the Government and City also: and then retrived their former *Democracy*, but with the addition of a Senate of six hundred, which should consist of the wealthiest and gravest of the people, who were to debate things of the weightiest concernment. This change opened a safe return to *Agathocles*, and greater hopes to seize upon the power of the Commonwealth, *Sosistratus* and his party being removed, who were the greatest obstructions to his designs. And because he wanted strength to force the people, he applies himself to cheat them by the arts and waies of a Demagogue, by which *Dionysius* before him had attained the Principality of that unquiet City. For there being in every Society two several parties, the Nobless and the Populacy, they are carried with different and opposite humours. The Grandees still seek after a power to oppress and command the lower and inferiour part of the Community; and the People strive for that liberty that they may neither be commanded nor oppressed. And by means of these distant and opposite humours most part of the Tyrannies did arise. He therefore who intends to use the people for his ascent to power, must

Digitized by Google be

be frequent in his harangues, flatter the multitude, bitterly inveigh againſt the inſolencies of the *Optimacy*, extol the name and benefits of Liberty, and make large promiſes of peace and plenty in the counſels he doth propoſe: and this is to be a Demagogue. For ſuch an one ſpeedily becomes the leader of the ignorant *multitude*, who *are eaſily deceived by ſpecious promiſes, and the accuſations of ſuch whom they hate, and conceive him to be very juſt that favours their deſires*, which have more of honeſty then thoſe of their adverſaries; and they do uſually give a power into his hands to ſuppreſs the contrary Faction, which he afterwards uſes to take away their Liberty.

This way, which ſeemed moſt ſafe and eaſie, did *Agathocles* upon his return proceed in. Therefore when the news came that the *Bandiri*, *Soſiſtratus* and his party, aſſiſted by the *Carthaginians*, did intend to make warre upon the *Syracuſans*, he was frequent and importunate in his Orations to the people, that they would not return again under the yoke of the *Oligarchy*, but undertake the warre to maintain their Liberty. Which being managed with the uſual arts did prevail upon the Multitude, and they decreed the warre: which continued a long time, and was varied with ſeveral Overthrows and Victories. In this warre *Agathocles*, ſometimes as a private perſon, and ſome-

times as a Commander, did behave himself gallantly, and shewed himself to be a person of good Conduct, close design, apprehensive of all advantages, and speedy in the execution, having alwaies in doubtful cases some cunning Stratagem, either to baffle the enemy, or to secure his own party. Amongst which this is related for one. The *Syracusans* having laid siege to *Gela*, *Agathocles* one night with a thousand commanded men gets into the town by surprize. *Sositratus*, that then was Governour of the place, being alarmed by the surprize, speedily collecting the stoutest and best-disciplin'd men of the Garrison, sets upon those that had entred, and killing about three hundred of them, put the rest to flight. Who being to make their retreat through very narrow lanes, were in great hazard of being all cut off, having neither room to fight, nor leisure to flie. *Agathocles* beyond all hope frees them from this danger; for though he himself had received seven wounds, and was weakned with the loss of much blood; yet not fearfully yielding to his present adversity, he gives command to the Trumpetters, that they should go to the opposite part of the town-wall, and there sound a Charge: which being speedily performed, the *Geloans*, that then pressed hard upon *Agathocles*, hearing the Charge given in another place, and through the darkness of the night not being able to discover the truth of the matter, con-

Digitized by Google

ceived

ceived the City to be assaulted in another part by another body of the Enemy. This made them slacken their eagerness in assailing *Agathocles*, and to divide themselves to succour the other parts which they imagined were assaulted; and by this means suffered him and his party safely to return to their Camp: where he was received with much honour, for having preserved the lives of so many of his own party from an evident ruine.

Had *Agathocles* abounded with these honest arts, he had trodden the right way to Glory; and would he have been contented with what the Laws and his Country would give, he might have received that as a reward of his Vertue which he laboured to make a spoil of his Violence, and by the common consent have been thought worthy to reign, if he had not sought it too greedily. So *Gelo* before him, and *Hiero* after him, received the Empire of *Syracuse* as a reward of their generous actions, not as the aim of their designs. And *Timoleon*, though he strove to be a private person, yet was forced to be a Prince. *Heroick Vertues being as the Patent of Heaven for Dominion: and men willingly submit to them that receive, not take the Power; and think their Freedome preserved, not infringed, by a just Prince, there being no greater Liberty then to be well governed.* But the desire of Greatness was too importunate

Digitized by Google

in

in *Agathocles*. For *ambitious spirits are not easily contented with what is offered; to whom the present enjoyments seem contemptible, when greater things may be hoped for; and at last they endeavour too hastily to exceed their own hopes: which is the ruine of many, that might have attained to Supremacy, had they not preferred too speedy and dangerous courses to such that are more slow, yet sure, mediums to power.* And therefore these arts which would have covered moderate crimes in others, made him more suspected by his Citizens, that he was a person of too bold hopes, and no longer fit to dwell in a free City: for he made use of all his Successes and abilities to render himself great in the common fame, and popular among the Souldiers. So that his Vertues, as well as his Vices, made him unfit for that Society. For *Industry and Sagacity are no less dangerous then Vanity and Luxury to a Commonwealth, when they are used to attain a Tyranny.*

To prevent therefore the ambitious designs of this and other her Citizens, the Commonwealth of *Syracuse* had invited from *Corinth Acestorides*, a person of a clear fame and unquestioned Honesty, to take upon him the Government for a time, that he might ballance the several Factions of their State, and give vent to those swelling hopes of her most turbu-

Digitized by Google lent

lent members, who now were grown too big for a civil and ordinary management; hoping to find him like to *Timoleon*, that knew how both to conquer Tyrants, and to submit to a civil Government, a rare agreement in one breast: for *the nature of man is willing to indulge that in himself which he hates in another*. But *Aceſtorides*, though he wanted not integrity for his truſt, yet failed in courage and reſolution to perform it. For finding *Agathocles* the greateſt object at that time of the common jealouſie, and that Liberty and he were inconſiſtent in one City, (For *that City cannot be accounted free, where any one Citizen can terrifie the publick Magiſtrates,*) he did not dare to remove him by a Trial and courſe of Juſtice, but intended to take him off by a ſecret Conſpiracy: and therefore publiſhed an Edict, whereby he baniſhed him from that Commonwealth; and commanding him to leave the City by night, he laid an Ambuſh in the way that might kill him in his paſſage, ſuppoſing the darkneſs would conceal the authors of his death, and his Baniſhment would occaſion an uncertainty in all reports that ſhould be divulged, whether he were alive or dead, and ſo ſuſpend the minds of the Vulgar rabble (to whom his Vices as well as his Vertues had indeared him, and) who would be forward to mutiny in his revenge. *Agathocles*, that was not unacquainted with any fraudulent practices, did eaſily ſuſpect the

Digitized by Google

plot:

plot: and therefore to prevent it, chuſeth out one of his ſervants that was moſt like to himſelf in the outward proportion of body, and harnaſſes him with his own armour, mounts him upon his own horſe, and ſends him out of the City that way which he conceived was forelaid, and he himſelf diſguiſed with poor and ragged apparel departs in a more unfrequented path. Thoſe that were appointed to diſpatch him, conjecturing by the arms and horſe that they had encountred with their deſigned prey, ſet upon the Servant and kill him, ſuppoſing that they had rid *Syracuſe* of their fears and hate. But *Agathocles*'s following actions ſoon made them ſenſible of their errour, and did upbraid the weakneſs of *Aceſtorides*, who did not dare to uſe the ſword of Juſtice againſt him whom he thought unworthy to live, and put the ſecurity and Liberty of the Commonwealth upon the uncertainty of a Plot.

Agathocles being gone, the unſteady multitude grow weary of that warre which he had perſwaded them unto againſt the *Banditi*, who aſſiſted by the power of *Carthage*, were able to renew their invaſions after many defeats. Therefore they immediately receive them into the City again, and conclude a Peace with the *Carthaginians*: but revoked not the ſentence of Baniſhment againſt *Agathocles*, which now by the return of his enemies he conceived would

Digitized by Google

be

be irreverſible. He therefore hath recourſe to his old auxiliaries of Thieves and deſperate Vagabonds, whom neceſſity and his former conduct had fitted for any Villany; who readily flocked about him in hopes of more licentious rapines: and to theſe he gathers all the disbanded Souldiers, whom the preſent Peace had made uſeleſs, and forming an Army of theſe, he grew terrible both to the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſans*, waſting their Territories, firing their Villages, and plundering the weaker and unfenced Towns and Cities. And that he might colour his outrages with ſome pretext of Juſtice, he eſpouſed the quarrels of all thoſe Cities that were either enemies to or emulous of the power of *Syracuſe*; & to this end was made Prætor of the *Murgantines*, who had an ancient hatred againſt them, and had been his ſanctuary in his Baniſhment. Under the ſpecies of their quarrel he did ſo eagerly proſecute the warre and his own deſigns, that he took *Leontium*, and blocked up *Syracuſe* it ſelf. This reduced them to ſuch ſtreights, that they were forced to ſeek for ſuccour and aid from *Amilcar* the *Carthaginian* General. He, either to keep alive thoſe flames wherewith the *Sicilians* did conſume one the other, was willing to adde ſome fewel to the fire; or elſe in humanity and of a generous ſpirit, would aſſiſt a noble, though adverſe, City, when diſtreſſed by her own Citizens; ſending thither ſuch a ſufficient ſupply

Digitized by Google

as

as made *Agathocles* despair by force to bring it to his subjection. He therefore applies himself to his more safe and secret arts of deceit; and desires *Amilcar* that he would mediate betwixt him and *Syracuse*, that he might be restored again to his own City and houshold Gods, and not be necessitated by such unpleasing waies to preserve his life and liberty. But together with these honest pretexts, he made more obliging promises of service and gratitude to *Amilcar*, if he would be the happy instrument of his return home.

Amilcar undertakes the office, and easily perswades the wretched *Syracusans* to consent to that which, without his assistance, they should be forced to submit unto upon more unequal conditions. His restitution therefore was agreed unto by the People, upon some security of their Peace and Liberty; which to give them, he was led into the Temple of *Ceres*, the most sacred Deity among the *Sicilians*, and there solemnly swore, that he would doe nothing contrary to the *Democratical* Government of *Syracuse*. This was the onely security which they could at that time have from *Agathocles*. Which is indeed a sufficient tie upon such souls as are indued with a sense of Vertue, or have any fear of a Deity: but Oaths are too weak fetters to restrain ambitious Spirits, or such as intend a Tyranny. For *He that re-*

Digitized by Google *selves*

ſolves to be unjuſt towards men, will ſlight the teſtimony and vengeance of Heaven. But though the people had been acquainted with the Arts and impiety of Tyrants, and were not ignorant of the impious converſe of him whom they admitted; (For *from the former converſation may be beſt valued the force of any mans oath*) yet were they now in ſuch a condition, that it was as dangerous not to believe as to be deceived: and they choſe rather, as conceiving it a relief of their miſeries, to be undeſervedly abuſed, then to leave him any colour of juſtice for his Injuries.

But it was the greater Wonder among the *Speculativi*, that *Amilcar*, a perſon of ſuch experience in humane converſe, and by a long Government not unacquainted with the diſtance of aſpiring minds from their Oaths and Promiſes, that he ſhould rely upon the Oath of *Agathocles*; who likewiſe ſwore to him by touching the kindled Tapers, (the form of ſwearing among the *Carthaginians*) that he would promote the *Punick* intereſt, and obey their commands. For how could he imagine that a Perſon ſo faithleſs to his own Country, would obſerve any faith with ſtrangers? that he which ſought for Dominion in his own City, would quietly bear a forein yoke? Yet the *Carthaginian* might promiſe to himſelf advantages to his Republick either from the Perfi-

Digitized by Google

diouſneſs

diouſneſs or Obſervance of the Tyrant. If he were faithful, then the increaſe of his power over the *Syracuſans* extended the Dominion of the *Africans*, and would give ſome ſplendour to their yoke, in that they had a King for a miniſter of ſlavery. If otherwiſe he ſhould be falſe to both, then might *Carthage* rejoice at his Perjuries, becauſe they would occaſion eternall hatreds and quarrels among her common enemies, and ſo make her Victory eaſie when ſhe ſhould attempt it. And it would be more advantage for the *Punick* Empire, if *Agathocles* together with infamy and hate ſhould poſſeſs the power of *Syracuſe*, then if he had acquired it by vertuous actions, and had been ſeated in it by the people's affections; for ſo being mutually jealous, they would afflict and weaken each other, that at laſt the Tyrant would not be able to hold his Uſurpation, nor the City to maintain her Liberty: ſo that in the end it muſt neceſſarily fall into their boſome. Theſe might be the too ſubtle ſpeculations and fine hopes of *Amilcar*: but *they could never be eſteemed wiſe counſels, wherein ſo many accidents might intervene, as might juſtly make him doubt of the expected iſſue.* For the Tyrants Cruelty and Fortune eluded all his hopes, and juſtified the *Carthaginian* Cenſure, who for this action condemned their Commander.

Digitized by Google

Agathocles being returned home, covered his revengeful and ambitious Soul with a diſſembled Modeſty, neither awakening the fears of the people, nor raiſing the jealouſies of his enemies by complaints of his unjuſt baniſhment, and the unprovoked injuries which he had received; but burying all in ſilence, as if the love of his Country had defaced all private animoſities, he rendred all ſecure, and ſuffered them to embrace that errour, *That Malice may be worn out with time, and appeaſed by Benefits.* And knowing that the ſpeedieſt way to overthrow the preſent Government was to pretend Liberty, and when the Government was once ſhaken, it might eaſily be attempted on; he applies himſelf to ſuch courſes as might render him in the Vulgar eſteem the Patron and aſſertor of the common Liberty. Therefore in all his harangues he ſtill expreſſed his great affection to the people. Who being moſt eager in two deſires, one, of having their Liberty, and the other, of taking revenge on thoſe that are the inſtruments of their bondage; he tickles and feeds theſe two humours in his ſpeeches, pleading the great equity of reſtoring the Government to the multitude, that every free-man ſhould have his ſhare in the common intereſt; and then inveighs againſt thoſe that had been and were in power, actuſing their inſolencies and miſcarriages in Government, and ſo forms his diſ-

courses as one that rather knew how to rule, then desirous of it. For *he that accuses would be supposed clear in himself from what he objects to another as a crime, and he is conceived skilful in that wherein he observes anothers errours.* Thus playing the subtle Demagogue, and doing all things as a Slave, that he might arrive at Rule, with more safety and speed he attains that which open and stout assaies would have rendred difficult. And *he that will arise from a private and low condition to the Supremest fortune, must use more Art then Force.*

The people cheated by these his specious representations of a perfect Liberty, and cajoled by his reiterated protestations of seeking onely the common utility, soon forgot their former jealousies, and his bold attempts upon their Liberty; *(So strong an influence hath a confident assertion even upon distrustful minds, that it works a belief of what they desire, though contrary to the evidence of reason drawn from former experience)* and bewitched with the imaginary benefits of Novelty, which the Vulgar are no less desirous of in a well-ordered then in a corrupted State, did by a publick Decree make him their General, and constitute him their Conservator of the Peace, till such time as a form of Government should be framed that might satisfie all parties, and preserve Liberty and Unity among all the members

Digitized by Google

of

of the Commonwealth. For all the Exiles being returned home, the City was distracted with various Factions, and could not agree in any one form of State. Every one, as it is usual, projecting several methods conducing to the interest of his own party, and the ruine of the opposite; very little respecting the publick security. And when all would order the Commonwealth, none could please: for some of their Forms did not please those that were good, and others displeased the wise. In some it was made easie to doe mischief, and in another men could not safely doe that which was good. One left too much authority to the Grandees, and the other made the Populacy tyrannical and arbitrary. Therefore *the multitude, which are slow in their resolves, unless determined by necessity*, were now by the variety of proposals more uncertain and dubious to make their choice. In the mean while each Faction striving to advance it self, made an horrid confusion in the Community. And as in a Tempest each wave striving to be highest rides upon the back of that which hasted to the shore before it, and is it self also suppressed by a following: so it happened in this Civil Tempest of the Commonwealth; each party strove to suppress the other, till a third, undiscerned before, assaults and suppresses the Conquerour. And each was made more fierce by their several pretensions to Liberty and the Publick good, which even

Digitized by Google

those that aimed at the severest Tyranny would not neglect: so that all thinking to evidence the goodness of their Cause by their heat for it, filled the whole City with tumult and confusion.

The Divisions ran so high, and continued so long, that the soberer part thought it was now expedient, that the afflicted Republick should have some rest, lest the wounds thereof should be made wider by such a tumultuous way of curing. And it appeared that the onely way to attain Order was, to conferre and intrust into some One man's hand power to preserve the peace for a time: for it was evident, that it was almost impossible, in so great a distraction, things could ever come to a settlement, unless some One, like a Soul and Mind, should give Order and Method to all the rest. The person chosen for this was *Agathocles*, who was still on that party where was the greatest Number, which was likely to be the most ignorant, and which he conceived he could most easily delude. He therefore was made Prætor, and intrusted with more then ordinary power for this great work of settlement. Thus was *Agathocles* presented with the fairest opportunity of true Glory that his Soul could possibly desire. For *Heaven cannot give nor any man wish for a fitter occasion for worldly Glory, then to find a City deformed with*

Digitized by Google

with confusions, and declining to ruine by its corruptions, which he may reform and module with wholesome Laws and generous Constitutions, to render it a peaceable habitation, and make it a theatre of Vertue and Justice; to secure the Magistrates of their Honour, and every private person of his Wealth and Safety; for this is to be emulous and a rival of the glory of Heaven, to bring Order out of Confusions, to dispense those blessings which render Life comfortable, and hedge up the fortunes and goods of men with a just providence. This captivates the Souls of men to a voluntary subjection, and challenges an un-envied adoration.

But *Agathocles*, who was of the temper of every Tyrant, measuring the benefit of his Power by a licence to doe mischief, & being no less thirsty of Blood then he was of Greatness, perverted these advantages of solid Glory to gratifie his Lusts, consulting his own eternal ignominy in his Countries slavery. And therefore resolved not to let slip this season of erecting his Tyranny, to which all things in the judgement of his Lusts did seem to invite him. The people whom he had to deal with were factious and unquiet, restless as the Sea which did incompass them; whom the plenty of their soil and the riches of Trading had made so wanton, that they were impatient of

Laws and Magistrates: and as they were unwilling to endure Slavery, so they were immodest in the use of their Liberty; and by these Corruptions were become like so many wild beasts, easie to be taken by any watchful and bold hand that could hope to tame them. Besides, the frequent revolutions of Government, and the successive inundations of several Factions, had each in their Order, like the Overflowings of *Nile*, left so many seeds and spawns of monsters that might easily be formed to any design; so many disappointed in their hopes and broken in their fortunes, that they would be contented to be instruments of any change that should make them whole again. The Souldiers were for the most part mercenary, and without any discipline; for *in Civil warres the discord of the Citizens aboliſhes the ſeverity of diſcipline:* besides, being now to be cashiered, because they were made useless by this Peace, they were envious at the rich Citizens, and did meditate nothing else but the sacking of the Town, the pillage of the Country, and the murdering of their Enemies; and so were fitted for any bold corrupter, that would but lead them to their desired prey. But the most inviting Occasion was the present unsetledness of the Government, all things being but in motion to composure, not yet established; which is a vast advantage for any wicked enterprise, whose counsels and hopes are built upon troubles,

Digitized by Google

bles. All these Occasions promised much ease in the design, and there was nothing that he feared would much impede his ascent to Principality, but the Authority of the Senate of six hundred, which were the wealthiest *Syracusans*, and of greatest credit with the people, which he intends to remove out of the way; not willing any longer to delay, when caution seemed more dangerous then rashness, and fearing to lose these *Occasions* which Modern Tyrants name the *Calls of Providence*.

All things therefore seeming fit for his purpose, being now Chief Magistrate, no empty name, but of great moment to execute any enterprise, and having an actual command of all the forces of the Commonwealth, he wanted onely some pretext to draw them together, with as many as he thought fit for his design, which either Fortune presented him with, or he himself formed. For news was brought to *Syracuse*, that some under their dominion had revolted from their obedience, and were embodied about *Erbita*. Upon this the people were summoned in great hast, who surprised with this sudden fear, passed a Decreee, that *Agathocles* should take care of the Commonwealth; and that he might prevent the danger with speed, he might levy what Souldiers he thought fit.

This Commission was as large as his desires,

 Digitized by Google and

and he presently makes use of it to his purpose: for he sends for the *Murgantines*, who were his ancient friends, but bitter enemies of the *Syracusans*; he gathers up out of the in-land Towns such as had been his former comrades in his thievish expeditions; and with these he joins those that had formerly served under him against the *Carthaginians*, who he knew were obliged to him by former Benefits, fit for whatsoever he dared to command, that were of a pertinacious faith to him, but enemies to the Senate, and haters of the people, because they were forced to obey their commands: which hatred was therefore more fierce, because it was unjust. All these made up a number of three thousand, every one of which were very desirous to ruine the *Democracy*. To these he adds such of the Citizens as had no honest hopes, whose poverty or fear of punishment for former offences did make them malign and hate those that were in Power, and suggest to them a necessity of becoming greater criminalls, that by the change of Government they might gain security, and in licentious tumults alter their despicable fortunes by the booties and rewards of civil commotions.

These all being fit for his purpose, as if he intended his march towards *Erbita*, he appoints to rendezvous at the Tomb of *Timoleon*; as if he would first trample upon the ashes and memory

memory of him that had been the most Vertuous assertor of Liberty to that wretched City, and from thence make his invasion by Blood and Violence. His Army being met, he sends for *Peisarchus* and *Decles*, who were the most eminent and leading members of the Senate, as having something to consult with them concerning the publick affairs. They coming to him with a train of about forty of their friends, were immediately secured by a guard that he set upon them, as if they had come to execute some Treason against him. Then calling his Souldiers together, and appearing among them with a countenance composed to sadness, he omits nothing that might move either pity to him, or fear, anger, and hate towards the Senate. He invokes their faith and compassion of him, and complains of his hard Fate, that it was never safe for him to love the People, and that none was ever an enemy to the Commonwealth, but they would be likewise the contrivers of his destruction. "*For do you not hear* "(saith he) *how my execution and your punish-* "*ment is already decreed, and how the Se-* "*nate hath sent these their most subtle Agents* "*to draw me back to the place of slaughter,* "*and to contrive the scene of your massacre?* "*They envy us the honour of dying upon our* "*enemies swords in defence of our Country's* "*Liberty: and we must brutishly fall as sa-* "*crifices to their insolent Lusts, and our blood* be

Digitized by Google

" be ſpilt to teſtifie that ſuch Monſters ruled
" us. In vain do we arm and expoſe our ſelves
" to death to keep off a forein yoke, when ſuch
" ungrateful wretches devote us to ruine at
" home. Are we not patient enough in our
" ſlavery, when we offer our ſelves to all the
" dangers of warre, that they may be ſecure
" in their effeminate pleaſures, and wantonly
" laviſh that wealth which is the price of our
" blood? but muſt we alſo be baſely ſent out
" of the world, that they alone may enjoy it?
" When will theſe men know the juſt bounds of
" commanding, or we fully apprehend the mi-
" ſery of our ignominious thraldome?

Then pauſing, as if he had been interrupted with tears which he ſhed, the Vulgar rout hindered any further progreſs in his ſpeech, with loud clamour, each one according to the ſenſe of his Intereſt or Paſſion, exclaiming againſt the Vices of the Senators: ſome charged them with Cruelty, others railed at their Covetouſneſs, and another ſort did condemn their Pride and Perfidiouſneſs; and therefore they jointly cried out, " That he ſhould not wait till ſuch
" inhumane vipers did return to a love of their
" own City, but ſpeedily revenge his own and
" their injuries: that he had already offended
" enough againſt his truſt, in dealing ſo gently
" with ſuch as deſerved as little of mercy, as
" they ſhewed of juſtice. Agathocles ſuffers

Digitized by Google

not

not their preſent rage to cool, knowing that *wicked attempts are to be done with a ſudden fury, though good counſels gather ſtrength by delay:* and ſeeing they underſtood the cauſes of hatred, he would likewiſe quicken them with the hopes of Spoil.

"*Go,* (ſaith he) *and be your own Avengers,* "*make the Tyrants feel what they decreed you* "*ſhould ſuffer. Let the wealth of Senators that* "*know no modeſty in their commands, be the* "*rewards of ſuch generous Souls that can en-* "*dure no Slavery. Leave them no friends or* "*confidents which may bewail or revenge their* "*death, nor children to inherit their Crimes* "*with their Wealth.* Then immediately, not to give ſpace to the bad to repent, nor to the good (if there were any there) to conſider, and in abhorrency of the fact to unite againſt him, he commands the Trumpets to ſound a charge, as if he were ſacking an Enemies Town. The caitiff Army having this full licence to ſatisfie their revenge, covetouſneſs and luſt, ſoon fell to the execution, and left nothing undone that a conquered City feels from an enraged Enemy. They guarded all the poſts of the City, and ſhut up the Gates that none might eſcape their fury: then they ſlew all the moſt daring and popular Citizens, who hearing the tumult came forth unarmed into the ſtreets to inquire the cauſe. Then the houſes ſtreamed with the

Digitized by Google

blood

blood of the owners, the Innocent fell with the Guilty, and every one was slain that had something to satisfie the expectation of his murderer. He that had no enemy, met with death at the hand of his friend; and a good name was a mark for ruine. The Altars of the Gods were coloured with the blood of those that fled to them for refuge, as Victimes to an incensed Deity. The aged men and ancient matrons were led about in scorn, by their miseries to make up the merrier part of this Tragedy. And that nothing of unhappiness might be unfelt by the miserable *Syracusans*, Rapes were mingled with Slaughters: he that was the Assassinate of the Husband, would be the Ravisher of the Wife; and he that reeked with the blood of the Father, would quench his flames of lust with the dishonour of the Daughter. Their rage and lust was so high against the people, that at last it grew hot among themselves, and he was accounted an enemy that had got the more precious booty. When any Virgin or Youth, whom beauty made conspicuous, fell into the hands of this barbarous rabble, they were commonly torn in pieces by the violence of those who contended for their first abuse; and then became the quarrel, and armed the Ravishers to their mutual ruine. Others while they hasted away with the gold and silver of the murdered owner, were themselves a prey to a stronger arm. Thus death and ruine reigned

Digitized by Google

ed in *Syracuſe*, and the firſt day there were no leſs then four thouſand of the moſt eminent Citizens, that by honeſt arts had won the affections of the people, murdered. Some were apprehended and ſlain at the gates, through which they thought to flie. Others met death from which they fled in climbing over the town wall, by too much fear and haſt breaking their necks and limbs. About ſix thouſand eſcaped, and ſome of them got ſafe to *Agrigentum* and other neighbouring Cities, where the relation of their miſeries did move a great deal of pity: but the inhumane Souldiers would yet make them ſenſible of their fury in their remaining parts, with more contumely raviſhing their Wives and Daughters, becauſe they themſelves had eſcaped with their lives.

This Cruelty laſted for two daies, *Agathocles*'s thirſt of blood being not ſooner to be quenched; or becauſe his authority was not yet ſo great as to forbid thoſe crimes which he might with eaſe command; or he was willing to indulge the luſts of his Army beyond all hopes of pardon, that ſo they might not expect ſafety but in the conduct and preſervation of him who had authorized their wickedneſs. But when this baſe rabble of men did ſeem to be ſatiated with villany, as having no more ſubjects to practice on, to conclude the Tragedy, he ſends for all thoſe Citizens whom he had ſecured,

Digitized by Google

ſecured, and who had been reſerved to feed his own eyes with their blood. Of theſe, ſuch as he had moſt injured, and whoſe vertues he might moſt fear, were ſlain before him; others leſs conſiderable he baniſhed. Onely one *Dinocrates*, a bold and faithleſs perſon, ſo like him in vices, that the ſimilitude had been the ground of a former acquaintance, though now he was a ſtranger to his deſign, he freely ſets at liberty: which was not the effect of Clemency or Friendſhip, Vertues that Tyrants are not capable of, but to provide a refuge for himſelf in the future. For even the moſt barbarous and bloodieſt villains, in diffidence of a change of affairs, will provide ſome private favour againſt the publick hatred.

This was *Agathocles*'s firſt ſcene of Dominion; and by ſurveying theſe ſacrifices to Empire, the ſtate *Augurs* and prudent *Greeks* did form a judgement how bloody and cruel would be the proceſs of his Government. For *Soveraignty muſt be maintained by the ſame arts by which it is acquired; and an Empire wickedly gotten by crimes, was never exerciſed by vertue and honeſty.* And as no good man will ſeek to be a Prince by wicked practices; ſo no debauched Spirit, that by impiety hath invaded a Principality, will ever think to uſe it juſtly.

For either by his wicked practices to attain

Digitized by Google to

to it, his Soul will be habituated to miſchief; or his deſires to keep what he hath uſurped will preſent to him a neceſſity to continue as he did begin. Becauſe *Vices when once they have debauched the ſouls of men, leave no place for moderation:* and he that in his projects for Greatneſs hath a long time meditated violence and cruelty, will be like thoſe ravenous beaſts, that having once taſted blood, will become unſatiable, and as Lions that having fed upon carcaſſes, are ſtill ſearching after the like. And this appetite when it is once armed with the ſupremeſt power, will ſometimes, when there is no neceſſity for preſervation, frolick with the lives of men, and in a capricious humour, or boaſt of Greatneſs, drink humane blood, and ſport with miſchief. If Habits reſtrain not an Uſurper from juſt courſes, yet the Neceſſities of State will: and if he were deſirous to abound with thoſe acts which adorn men with the titles of Good, yet the injuſtice of his entrance upon Government will make it exceeding difficult, if not impoſſible; for that will alwaies give him occaſions of fear, fear will ſeek for ſecurity, ſecurity cannot be had by the affections of thoſe to whom he hath given juſt cauſe of hate; therefore he muſt make himſelf ſafe by more injuries, and hence ariſes increaſe of hatred: it being impoſſible that the Injurer and the Injured ſhould ever be cemented by a *ſolid faith, which*

Digitized by Google

is

is the ſureſt baſis for a moderate Empire and laſting obedience; and that Government will be alwaies odious and never good, that muſt be maintained by violence. Beſides, Tyrants meet with obſtructions to a vertuous uſe of their power by thoſe that aſſiſted them in the acquiſition; the inſtruments of their Greatneſs will be their obſtacles to Goodneſs: for they being vitious by whom they did ariſe, they muſt be no other to gratifie them, and muſt neglect thoſe ingaging Vertues that become Princes, becauſe they are obliged to ſuch that are not fit to be Subjects. His Vices render him not more hateful to the good, then his Vertues doe to thoſe that have been the miniſters of his Tyranny, to whom, as well as to his own luſts, he muſt be ready to proſtitute the lives, honours and goods of the beſt Citizens, and ſometimes his choiceſt friends, as to the authors of his fortune. So that the obſervation of *Tacitus* is very true, *Imperium flagitio acquiſitum nemo unquam bonis artibus exercuit:* and it is apparent in the Life of *Agathocles*, and verified in every Uſurper.

Agathocles having laid his foundation by rude cruelty, builds the Superſtructures wth diſſimulation: an art thought ſo neceſſary for thoſe whom Ambition makes thirſty or tenacious of Greatneſs, that *Tiberius*, who was well skilled in it, eſteemed it among his choiceſt Vertues; alwaies

Digitized by Google appearing

appearing a modeſt refuſer of what he paſſionately deſired; and when all things elſe died in him, he ſtrove to keep his diſſimulation alive. *Andronicus* by this onely Art arrived to the Greek Empire, and had found it ſo proſperous, that he made uſe of it when the enraged Multitude were in actual revenge of that Imperial and Patrician blood which he had ſpilt, and as he was led to Execution, continued his feigned Piety, crying out, *Break not a bruiſed reed:* as if he thought diſſimulation ſo powerful a charm, that it would calm a tumult, and that anger and fury had left a place for credulity. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, a Prince of ſuch an impatient Ambition, that he could not bear with a private condition though in reverſion to the Crown, while his Father lived, nor defer the jealouſies of his own Son, till his age might make him more aſpiring and capable of Dominion, had made ſuch uſe of this artifice, and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, as by it onely he ruined his too powerful enemy *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy:* and therefore commended it to the Tutors of his Son, as the onely leſſon he ſhould learn in Latine, *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit* * *vivere. Agathocles* was as great an Artiſt in this as any man, it being as neceſſary for him as for all thoſe who project wicked deſigns, and whoſe abject condition or hainous crimes have ſet them at a great diſtance from glorious hopes.

* Or *regnare.*

For *noble actions and just titles have no need of dissimulation, and generous spirits will scorn to use it; because it is an evidence of baseness, and a conviction of fear.* But Tyrants are never nice in any thing that is advantageous. Therefore *Agathocles*, that feared a present and immediate exercise of rule would too soon discover the cheat he had put upon the people, and so make his settlement more difficult, intended so to delude them, that they should even force him to take that which he so eagerly thirsted for, and bind the yoke of Slavery on their necks by their own Suffrages, and by their own Law give him such a power that should force their obedience. For though the multitude may be easily perswaded to any thing, yet it is difficult to keep them constant in that perswasion without a power over them. *Nothing is more unstable then Greatness founded onely upon anothers pleasure; nor are the favours of any more uncertain then those of the Vulgar:* therefore though he would be raised by them, yet would he not be built upon them. To bring this about, he veils his designs with a dissembled *Modesty. A Vertue which when real is an ornament to the greatest fortunes, but most lovely in those who pretend the publick good: for nothing is more acceptable to men, then those that break anothers Tyranny, and modestly abstain from the same attempts.*

Digitized by Google

To this purpose he assembles the People and his Souldiers, to whom he remonstrates the miscarriages in Government of the Senate, and objected to them all those Crimes which use to be charged upon those that have been in power. "*To deliver therefore* (saith he) *the* "*Commonwealth, the publick grievances, and* "*not any private wrongs, have called me forth:* "*and I could not but compassionate the Good* "*People, though I did not feel their miseries.* "*In the prosecution of which I confess we have* "*used extraordinary and unusual means, but* "*yet such which Necessity and their own arro-* "*gancies do justifie; for we could not crave* "*helps from the Laws, when their power and* "*partisans had obstructed the ordinary course* "*of Judicature. And indeed the Safety of* "*the people is the Supreme Law: nor doth Jus-* "*tice consist in the formality of processes, but* "*in the equality of the punishment to the crime.* "*As for my self, I am content to spend my* "*dayes in a perpetual banishment, so that the* "*Commonwealth may enjoy their Liberty and* "*Peace, being unwilling that any concernment* "*of mine should be a fire-brand to new broils,* "*or afford matter to civil dissensions. But if* "*you judge me worthy to partake of the com-* "*mon Liberty, which with the hazard of my* "*Life and Fortunes I have purchased for you,* "*I am resolved to lead a private life, being* "*abundantly satisfied with the glory of this act,*

" that I have recovered the Liberty of ſo good " a people and ſo noble a City. And therefore " I declare you a Free State, and that all the " Power is in the People.

To procure ſome credit to his words, he immediately deveſted himſelf of his Imperial habiliments, the badges of his office; and took the Vulgar habit, thereby declaring himſelf one of the Multitude, and ſo offered to depart out of the Aſſembly. The ſubtle Fox was ſecure that he ran no hazard of loſing the prey for which he had ſo long toiled, for he knew that Aſſembly did conſiſt moſt of ſuch as were conſcious of ſo much rapine and blood, that they could not ſuffer any other Magiſtrate but him that was equally polluted in the guilt: therefore all theſe, and every one that had no underſtanding of what was good nor care of evil, ſuch that were to live by the rewards of wickedneſs and a miniſtry to Tyranny, immediately cried out, that " *He ſhould not deſert " the good people of* Syracuſe, *and that he " ſhould protect them in that Liberty of which " he had been ſo glorious an Author.* He ſtood immovable at their firſt clamours, as if he were unwilling to part with thoſe imagined delights of his reſolved privacy, or were too modeſt to command; and with an obſtinate ſilence provoked their more loud and fierce acclamations, " *that he ſhould not betray them to their*

Digitized by Google

"*their enraged enemies, nor think he could be*
"*safe in private when the publick was in dan-*
"*ger.* Seeing his Arts so prosperous, compo-
sing himself as if he were wearied with the
desires of all, and sollicitous lest his modesty
might be dangerous to the publick peace, he
doth by degrees yield; not as if he would take
the Government, but put an end to his denial
and their requests.

"*I know* (saith he) *how obnoxious he makes*
"*himself to Fortune who stoops to the burden*
"*of governing a free people; how easily his best*
"*actions and most prudent counsels may be blas-*
"*ted by sinister interpretations of licentious*
"Demagogues. *For when no man can be suf-*
"*ficiently wise concerning the future, and very*
"*often the worst counsels have the happier e-*
"*vents; he that sincerely intends the publick*
"*good, may sometimes fail of his scope, and*
"*for his cares and hazards, be rewarded with*
"*false accusations and inauspicious surmises,*
"*which are very offensive to persons of Integrity*
"*who are tender of their fame. But it is*
"*most intolerable when a faithful servant of*
"*the Commonwealth must bear the envy of their*
"*offences who are his partners in Government.*
"*Therefore though I despise dangers and con-*
"*temn reproach, that I may serve my Country*
"*in those honest and just ends of Government;*
"*yet am I unwilling to be loaded with the crimes*

Digitized by Google

"of others, and be accountable for their mis-"carriages who prefer their private to the pub-"lick good.

His party by this understood the condition of their security, and therefore in the Assembly passed this Decree, "*That* Agathocles *should* "*be the Commander in chief of all the Forces* "*of the Commonwealth, and have the sole* "*management of all Publick affairs.* This Decree fully answered his desires: therefore seeming to be overcome with the kindness and love of so good a people, he thankfully undertakes the Government, and promises much faithfulness in it, and many benefits to the people by it. And from this time he publickly exercised the Tyranny, like an absolute Prince and Lawful Monarch; whenas he was in truth but a *Capo di Banditi*, a Chief of Thieves and Murderers: and this Decree could not be styled *the Consent of the People, which when they are free to give it, is the true foundation of the Supreme Power*; but a conspiracy of Traitors and publick enemies. For having killed and expelled all those whose right it was to convey, and who had most prudence to judge where to trust Authority, as a reward or guard for all Vertues; there remained very few but the Associates of his wickedness, great Criminals, that were fitter to suffer by Magistracy then to dispose of it, and the dregs of

Digitized by Google the

the People, who are the reproach, not legitimate parts, of a Community; who rather fear then desire Government, as the great restraint of their licentious lusts, and therefore are willing it should be conferred on the most corrupted persons, as from whom they expect the most abusive licence. And these likewise *Agathocles* had cajoled in his Speeches, promising a new *Agrarian* Law, and more equal division of lands, that all debts and bonds should be cancelled, and that Prisoners upon such obligations should be set at Liberty. Which are the usual tempting promises whereby Usurpers raise the hopes and get the favour and assistance of the debauched rabble: but they take as little care to perform them, as they intended faith when they promised them. And such are the good People which Tyrants so affectionately mention, and are the authors of their power and supports of their Empire.

The honester and middle sort of the Citizens, whose obscurity and unenvied fortune had secured them in the Massacre, and whose spirits were not so high as to render them terrible to the Tyrant, nor so abject as to be forward instruments of his Lusts, were so stupified with the horrour of that Cruelty which yet was in their sight, and affrighted into a sluggish patience, that though they abounded with indignation as well as grief for the loss

of their Liberty, yet they feared the power and multitude of their enemies, so that they dissembled their passions, and deferred their revenge till a fitter season, thinking it more safe for the present, rather to expect then provoke their fortune. Others preferred present peace and security to glorious attempts with hazard. To secure and quiet these mens minds, he severely forbad the murders and rapines of his party, as if he would put an end to all injuries. For *injuries, though great, yet if perpetrated at once, and not every day renewed, do less affright and offend the minds of men.* Then to beget in them a credulity that he would behave himself but as a common Citizen, with modesty and civil gravity using that power which he had so barbarously got, he composes himself to all popular courses: he speaks familiarly to all; some he cajols with fair and splendid hopes; others, whom he judged more fit for business, and whose Slavery he might buy with profit, he prefers to such and such places; and to most he uses proper attractives, specious in words, but void of any reality. In himself nothing appeared new or arrogant. He forbore the use of a Crown (unless when he sacrificed, which was as Priest, not as a Prince;) he did not take to himself a select Life-guard, either for Majesty or security: nor did he affect to make addresses to him difficult, nor delighted in the tedious attendance

Digitized by Google of

of petitioners: which are the ceremonies of Greatneſs, and the pleaſures of weaker Tyrants. But appearing in all the ſhapes of humanity, and preſenting theſe pageants of Liberty, he bound the yoke of Slavery ſtronger. For while he neglected theſe ſhadows of Royalty, he laid a foundation of ſolid power. He diverted all his care to regulate and augment the publick Exchequer, all the ſtores he furniſhed, and filled the Magazines with arms and ammunition, and increaſed the Navy. For he foreſaw his new Principality muſt expect ſeditions at home, and invaſions from abroad: and if Fortune ſhould diſperſe them, yet would not his proviſions be fruitleſs, for with them he might make ſome additions to his Dominion, and when Slavery was faſtned at home, he might impoſe it abroad. Which he might eaſily promiſe to himſelf: for *The firſt ſteps to Power are alwaies the moſt difficult; but when once that is entred on, there will not be wanting means and inſtruments to increaſe and eſtabliſh it.*

By theſe courſes did *Agathocles* endeavour to draw the minds of men. But to thoſe that knew the Arts of Tyrants, theſe falſe Vertues were more terrible, becauſe they did but for a time ſuppreſs thoſe Vices which with more fury would afterwards break forth. For in ſo much pride and cruelty there can never be civility

Digitized by Google

and

and gentleneſs without deſign. It is reckoned among the ſafer Arts of Tyrants, to imitate a good and lawful Prince. But in every imitation there is ſomething which betraies the Violence upon nature, and diſcovers it not to be genuine: ſo that notwithſtanding all the induſtry, a Tyrant's bloody thirſt, horrid luſts and deſires of ſecurity and Greatneſs, will make him break forth into ſuch practices as will upbraid the falſe colours and ſhadows of Vertue, and they will ſoon recoil to actions anſwerable to his principles; as did *Agathocles*, who in a ſhort time diſcovered to the whole world that he would not uſe that power for the benefit of men, which with their ſo great ruines and miſeries he had acquired.

While *Agathocles* was labouring to take root, the *Syracuſan* fugitives in thoſe Cities of *Sicily* where they found Sanctuary endeavoured his overthrow, and to ſtir up all *Sicily* againſt him. Some out of a deſire to return to their native ſoil & houſhold-gods, others to break the yoke under which their City groaned, and ſome out of hatred of *Agathocles*'s fortune more then his wickedneſs. *It being an innate diſpleaſure in men, to behold the ſudden felicity of others, and to complain of the exceſs of their Fortune whom they have ſeen in the ſame level with themſelves.* From theſe different principles every one in his place of refuge, but eſpecially

Digitized by Google

cially at *Agrigentum*, where their number was greatest, endeavoured by the Demagogues and most popular Citizens to perswade the Cities to a warre against the Tyrant. These still setting before the people in their harangues, the necessity of preventing *Agathocles* with that warre which they were undoubtedly to expect from his ambition and covetousnes; the assurance of Victory from the weakness of his beginnings, and the fresh hatred of his horrid entrance; the glory of the enterprize, to subdue and extinguish so great a Monster, and restore so many miserable Exiles to their own household-gods; the danger of the Example, if so near a wickedness should pass unpunished. By these motives they easily prevailed upon the people to decree a warre against the Tyrant.

But the greatness of the warre made the undertaking slow, which lost the advantages that at first encouraged the enterprize. For doubting their single strength, they entred into confederacy with *Gela* and *Messene* to the same warre: these Treaties spent time in the managing, and the confidence that did arise from their union did lose more. For then, as not doubting the Victory, they feared that if they should make any one of their own Citizens General of their Army, he might after the overthrow of *Agathocles* follow his Example, and either make himself Tyrant, or raise his

Digitized by Google

own

own City above the reſt. Therefore they would ſend ſome of the Exiles to *Sparta*, to procure from that City a perſon fit to be General of all their Forces. For they ſuppoſed a ſtranger would be more juſt and faithful in his truſt, not having the ſame intereſts and parties that a Citizen might have; and they hoped to find another *Timoleon*, or one that ſhould compoſe his conduct after his Example. But the fortune of *Sicily* was not ſo benigne, for inſtead of a Deliverer they received an effeminate and ſtupid Oppreſſor, whoſe Vices betraied them into the enemies power.

For the *Agrigentine* Agents coming to *Sparta*, they found *Acrotatus* the ſon of *Cleomenes* King of that City, who was very deſirous and importunate for this employment. For having incurred the hatred of the *Spartan* youth, becauſe he oppoſed the Decree of the Senate to pardon all thoſe that had not ſtoutly behaved themſelves in the warre with *Antipater*, he was often aſſaulted by them, who conceived themſelves injured by his inſolency, and was continually afraid of their plots againſt him. He was therefore very ſollicitous for ſome forein employment, wherein by his abſence he might give vent to their paſſions, as if he had undergone a voluntary baniſhment, and by removing the object of their hate, blot out the remembrance of their injuries. This

Digitized by Google man

man the Agents accept of, whom nothing but the Nobility of his Family could commend, though his manners were extremely degenerate from the Vertue of the *Spartan* royal blood. He was insolent and high in his speeches, but base and cowardly in his actions; desirous of fame, but neither skilful nor industrious to deserve it; prone to evil, and not cunning to conceal it; fierce and severe against anothers Vices, yet indulgent to himself in baser lusts; envious at the Glory of another, as if it were his infamy, and yet a despiser of his own credit. His hatred was heightned by the glorious memory of his Ancestors. For *the base descendents of worthy Parents, besides the common hate which is inseparable from wickedness, are loaded with another, for that they have defamed the stock from which they sprung, and tainted that blood which they received pure.* This was the Engine wherewith the *Sicilians* were to demolish the greatness of *Agathocles:* too loose and weak a hand to dethrone a daring, industrious, and subtle Tyrant, and therefore proved his advantage, rather then his trouble.

He having undertaken the emploiment without the counsel of the *Ephori*, who were the Censors of the Royal family in *Sparta*, with a few ships sails towards *Sicily:* but by an ominous Tempest he was forced into the *Adriatick*

sick sea near the territories of the *Apolloniates*; where he trifles away his time in composing a peace betwixt them and *Glaucias* an *Illyrian* King, that then did besiege their City. From thence he sails to *Tarentum*, where to lose time more precious then unnecessary aid could be to the *Sicilians*, by the credit of his birth and Country he prevails with that City to enter into the *Sicilian* league, and to send twenty ships against the *Syracusan* Tyrant. And after so much loss of time which was employed in these Treaties, he comes to *Agrigentum*, where with much applause (as is usual to the Glorious assertors of Liberty) and great expectation he did enter upon his command. This expectation and opinion of the people (which wise men esteem prejudicial to any employment; because many can never correspond fully unto it, men usually desiring more then can be acquired, which doth in time turn to their dishonour and infamy) this great undertaker did labour to increase by his confident boasts, that he would speedily ruine the *Syracusan* Potter, and finish that just war. But they soon found how vain were his boasts and their hopes. For they perceived how he neglected all the desirable opportunities of performing his trust, and as if he were forgetful of his enterprize, the Dignity of his Extract, and the Honour of his City, he did endeavour to erect a more heavy Tyranny then that which he was desired

to.

Digitized by Google

to pull down. He was wholly debauched to every Luſt, and as it were with the air, he had changed the *Laconian* Temperance and moderation, (eminent Vertues in the higheſt fortune) into Laſciviouſneſs and Pride; more like a ſoft *Perſian* then an hardy *Spartan*; abuſing the plenty and Beauties of *Sicily* with his Luſts and riots: by which profuſe courſes and by ſtealth, he alſo conſumed the common Treaſure for the war. Nor did he abſtain from blood and injuries, as if thoſe who had called him for Liberty, knew nothing of it beyond the empty name. And to perpetuate his Tyranny, he reſolved to murder *Soſiſtratus*, who was the moſt likely to head the *Sicilian* fury againſt him. For he was the moſt eminent of the *Syracuſan* Exiles, and had often commanded the Armies of his Commonwealth with honour and ſucceſs, being of the Nobleſs of that City, of a preſent courage and reſolution, not unacquainted with the Arts and practices of Tyranny, therefore the more able to obſerve & oppoſe ſuch deſigns. The *Spartan* having no colour to make him fall by the ſword of Juſtice, nor daring to aſſault him by open force, uſes the fatal careſſes of a Tyrant, and invites him to a Feaſt; where when he had diſarmed him by wine and gluttony, he cauſes him to be murdered.

The news of this Murder being divulged, the whole

whole City was filled with uproar, and the *Syracusan* Exiles, whose hopes and fortunes were built upon this war, and were therefore the most impatient at every disappointment, were highly inraged at the Death of *Sosistratus*; whom the common Calamity had indeared to them, and from whose valour and conduct they hoped for a more speedy return home. These first assault *Acrotatus*, and by their example many more were drawn to the same attempt. So that the whole City being gathered together by this tumult, vote him out of his Office and Command; and to confirm their Decrees, they assault him with such weapons as their present fury administred, as stones and the like, and dealt with him as a common Enemy never to be reconciled unto. For *their offences are most heinous who disappoint the conceived hopes of a soft and just Government; and the minds of men being frustrated in their reasonable expectancies of good, are thereby the more implacable.* *Acrotatus* seeing himself unequal to the peoples violence, fled out of *Agrigentum* by night, and with ignominy hasted to *Sparta*, leaving behind him a discontented City, and all his broken hopes of Tyranny, of which he was more desirous then capable. For to impose Slavery upon a people without a force greater then their resistance, requires a dexterous wit to manage all occurrences to the present advantage, tedious arts,

Digitized by Google

and

and time to form a party, to get some fame of valour and vertue, and to be esteemed tender of the peoples rights. Otherwise, though any one by the advantage of a trust, may assume a Principality and Tyranny, yet he cannot long hold it without such foundations. And as things that suddenly spring and grow have the shallower rooting, and are soonest pulled up: so such sudden Tyrants are easily deposed. Which was the fortune of *Acrotatus*, who by rioting and injuries would enjoy the Pleasures of Tyranny, before he had acquired the Power. *None are more apt to attempt upon the Liberty of the people, then such who are vitious and debauched; for they commonly think Principality but a security of great crimes: yet none are less able to compass their design. For he that will dare to attempt that which no honest man will, must be able to doe such things which none but a prudent and stout man can perform.* *Cato*'s observation of *Cæsar*, that he was the onely sober person that did endeavour the overthrow of the Commonwealth, was an *Augury* and fear of his success in that design. Those that are otherwise qualified, though they may disquiet and expose their Cities to ruine by their vain attempts, yet can never establish themselves in any Grandeur, nor meet with any other issue of their Designs then Destruction or Ignominy; as this *Spartan* did.

This evil management of *Acrotatus* was not unknown to *Agathocles*, & therefore he provoked them not to fight, but waits when his enemies would fall by their own vices: wherein he was not deceived, for the league was soon broken, and the associated Cities divided their Army, and recalled their forces. For *confederacies consisting of several communities have several interests; and if they last so long till they have some prosperous success, yet are they then broken by envy and jealousies. But commonly the first adverse encounter immediately creates a fear that dissolves them*; and every one by private counsels will endeavour to provide for their own safety. Whence it comes to pass that the forces of many Confederates are less considerable, though more numerous, then those which one single Power is able to form and raise. And thus it happened with these Confederates: for the *Tauromines* recalled home their ships; and the *Sicilian* Cities not thriving in their first heat against the Tyrant, would no longer tempt their Fortune, but by the mediation of *Amilcar*, who was able to force the dissenters and impose an agreement, they conclude a peace with the *Syracusan*. The *Carthaginian*, not intending to diminish the Greatness of *Agathocles*, as conceiving together with his power the envy and hatred of him would be increased, and so at last he would fall as an easie and rich prey to the

Digitized by Google

the *Punick* Empire, and thinking by this Peace he might secure the rights of his own City without the hazards of war, concludes a Peace upon these Articles: "*That* Heraclea, Selinus *and* Himera, *which were Greek Colonies,* "*should continue as before under the* Carthaginian *Empire; that all the other Cities of* Sicily *should be free, and live by their own laws;* "*and that* Syracuse *should have the chiefest* "*dignity and precedency among them.*

Thus this Tempest, that threatned the ruine of the new Tyrant, being so prosperously calmed, proved like those winds, which if they are not violent enough to throw down, do advantage trees, by shaking them to a greater fastness at the root. For it setled *Agathocles* upon his foundations; because it having alarmed him to provide all the means of safety, by so necessary an industry he was enabled for any enterprise. He had gotten together, besides his Confederates and the Citizens of *Syracuse*, a choice Army of *Mercenaries* consisting of thirty thousand Foot, and three thousand five hundred Horse, and had stored himself with all kind of Arms. These Forces, being now no longer necessary for defence, he was resolved, according to the Institutes of Tyranny, to employ in fastning his Dominion at home, and increasing it abroad, by invading all the neighbouring and less potent Cities: for

Digitized by Google

if he could bind his yoke upon all the Cities about him, he ſhould remove Liberty out of the ken, and ſo out of the hopes of *Syracuſe*: beſides, he ſhould increaſe his Revenues and Forces againſt another ſtorm which he foreſaw was coming from *Carthage*. For from thence he had received Intelligence, that *Amilcar*'s peaceful counſels were branded with ſiniſter interpretations; and although the Senate did not dare publickly to condemn him while he was in Command, yet had they paſſed their ſentences againſt him, and ſealed them up in their Urne, not to be publickly recited till he returned to a private Condition. *Agathocles* therefore eaſily concludes what their intentions muſt needs be towards himſelf; and therefore to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt their invaſion, he endeavours to prevent them in the acquiſition of as much of *Sicily* as he could, not deſpairing in time to graſp the Empire of the whole Iſland, if not by his own valour, yet he ſhould have no ſmall advantage from his Enemies vices, who he ſaw could not be unanimous in their common defence, and when they fought ſingly for Liberty, they would at laſt all be Slaves.

To proſecute this reſolution, as alſo to buſie his own vaſſals in reſiſting provoked Foreiners, and that they might vent thoſe paſſions on ſome common enemy which elſe would

Digitized by Google

ſwell

swell against him, he sets upon, and easily masters all his weaker neighbours, and vexes them with his oppressions. For *a Tyrant is like that other judgement of incensed Heaven, a contagious Pestilence, which still infects and spreads it self upon all that are near unto it.* Having brought these lesser Cities under his obedience, his next design was against *Messene*, which had refused to be concluded in the former Peace betwixt *Agathocles* and the other *Sicilians*, and did still retain her just hatred of the Tyrant, and therefore was become a Sanctuary for the *Syracusan* Exiles. To deprive them therefore of this harbour, and to make the *Messenians* repent even of their pity to the miserable, he was resolved to make them as miserable as their guests. To this end he sends *Pasiphilus*, one of his Captains, with a considerable party and secret instructions, to invade the territories of *Messene*, not using any publick declaration of hostility, lest he should give them time to prepare for their defence, or leisure to consult of honest means to satisfie his unjust anger; for he sought not Peace with them, but their ruine; nor cared he for their friendship, but intended their slavery. *Pasiphilus*, according to his Commands, unexpectedly falls upon their Country, surprizes many of their Citizens, wastes and plunders all their Villages, and setting forth all his actions with every advantage of terrour, he affrights the

Messenians to a Treaty, which under-hand he offered to them by some of his prisoners. When they came to treat, he remonstrates unto them, that the cause of the War was their harbouring his Master's implacable enemies, the *Syracusan Exiles*; and declares, that as they were unequal to his Prince as to the prosecution of the war, and so were to fear the most danger, so should they lose nothing by his amity, if they were disposed to peace: that they were evil Counsellors to their Commonwealth, who advised them to a Confederacy with the despicable enemies of so potent a Prince.

The *Messenians* considering the present terrors and their own weakness, more then the faith of him with whom they had to doe, and hoping by this overture to end a dangerous war without any hazard to themselves, did immediately decree that all the *Syracusan* Exiles should forsake their City, and then they set open their gates to receive *Agathocles*, who was now come to them with his Army. The Tyrant at his first entrance covered his inhumane purposes with a crafty modesty; and as if he had had no arms to force his desires, by all seeming Humanity perswades them to repeal all those publick Acts and Decrees whereby they had banished certain of their lewdest Citizens for notorious crimes, and which were now in his Army, the refuge of every villain.

Digitized by Google

Which

Which when they had done, and received them in, who would be like a Garrison to subject them to the Tyrant, he presently sends for all such whom he knew, there & at *Tauromenium*, to be less patient of Slavery, and had formerly expressed their hatred of him; all which being about six hundred he immediately slew: for foreseeing the war he should have with the *Carthaginians*, he resolved to destroy whomsoever he could not trust.

Thus the *Messinians* too late found that there was no Humanity or Equity to be expected from a Tyrant, and when it was in vain, bewailed their cruel folly in driving out the *Syracusan* Exiles, who would have been an obstinate and impregnable guard against the forces of their enemy; as also that they had betrayed their best and stoutest Citizens, (for onely such hate a Tyrant;) and, which did most of all upbraid their weakness, that they had by their own votes put themselves under the basest and vilest Ministers of Slavery, their condemned and profligate *Banditi*. But now nothing was left but shame and indignation at their own Credulity and the Tyrant's baseness, who was not at all ashamed, that by such unworthy arts he had compassed his design. For Tyrants that seek after power, and not glory, that thirst for blood more then an honest fame, refuse not the most wicked, if they be also

compendious, waies to attain their ends. Whereas Generous Spirits had rather maintain their Greatness by Justice, and esteem that the most evident testimony of Valour and Power to be at once both great and good, and not by injuries to ascend to superiority. The *Romans* denied a triumph to those their Consuls, who to overthrow their enemies had polluted their arms with unjust and wicked arts, and never accounted that a Victory which was infamous. *Viriathus*, they conceived, fell with more honour then he that finished the war with buying his life, and hired his servants to his murder: for he seemed to upbraid the *Roman* weakness, that could not overcome a *Spanish* Thief by noble waies. And as they hated the unworthy waies of poison and Treason to finish a war; so while they were uncorrupted in their Discipline, they were Religiously scrupulous in the beginning of any: for they never sent forth their Armies till they had sought for justice in the tracts of Peace, and after the publick promulgation of their intent. Such also was the Integrity of the *Achæans*, before they had fore-warned their enemy to a defence. *Machiavel* commends the Simplicity of the ancient *Florentines*, that enterprized no hostility on their neighbours, till they had by ringing a Bell for the space of a whole moneth admonished their enemy to a peaceable satisfaction, or a brave resistance. But *every Tyrant makes his war*

Digitized by Google

war inpious, if not in the cause, yet in the management; and more like thieves then Princes, aim onely to deceive, not to conquer their enemies.

Agathocles being thus successfully wicked at *Messene*, designs *Agrigentum* for his next prey; his false Ambition not suffering him to continue that Peace which his Necessity had forced him to make with them. But the *Carthaginian* Fleet, consisting of sixty sail of ships, hovering upon the coasts of *Sicily*, diverted his arms from revenge, on the *Carthaginian* territories, whose Countries he wasted with fire and sword, took some of their Garrisons by force, and others were delivered upon composition. This Hostility betwixt *Carthage* and *Syracuse* made *Dinocrates*, (who since *Sosistratus*'s death was become the chief of the *Syracusan* Exiles) and the other Confederates, hope for the assistance of the *Punick* arms against this restless Tyrant. To them therefore they sent an Embassie, with bitter complaints against *Amilcar*, and invectives against *Agathocles*. The last they set forth as a mercileſs, perjured, and bloody Tyrant. The other they accused as a Traitor, that by secret compact had delivered up the lives and fortunes of the *Carthaginian* friends into the hands of a most cruel enemy: and that as the earnest of this Treachery, *Syracuse*, a potent and rich City, an emulous

emulous contender with *Carthage* for the Empire of *Sicily*, was first betraied into his hands; and under the name of Peace many other confederate Cities had since been exposed to his rapines. If therefore that Mighty Commonwealth and wise Senate should not be more vigorous to punish their treacherous servant, and to quench the Tyrant's thirst of Empire with his own blood, they would soon feel in *Africk* the dismal effects of their neglect of *Sicily*.

This Embassie inraged *Carthage*, and they were more keenly resolved to make *Amilcar* satiate their anger with an ignominious punishment. But either by a natural or a voluntary death he prevented the unjust fury of his own Citizens, who had condemned him before he could plead his innocency. So barbarously ungrateful are most Commonwealths to their chiefest servants: who if they thrive abroad, are ruined at home by Jealousie and Envy; if they are not successful, then the Capricioes of Fortune are accounted the miscarriages of their Generals, and their Unhappinesses esteemed for Crimes. None were more infamous in this way of cruelty then the *Carthaginians*, who often expiated the dishonour of their overthrow with their Commander's head. There-
* *Aur. vict. de viris illust.* fore * *Annibal*, that commanded the Navy in their first *Roman* war, being beaten, and losing his Navy, makes haste

Digitized by Google

haſt to *Carthage*, to prevent any other meſſenger of his misfortune, and in the Senate declares onely the ſtate of his and the Enemies forces as they were before the fight, and inquires what they would command to be done: *they all cried out, he ſhould fight. I have* (ſaith he) *and am beaten:* and ſo eſcaped the puniſhment of the Croſs. But this *Amilcar* was either a perſon of a ſluggiſh ſoul, and ſo veiled his cowardize under the name of Peace, and vainly thought that ſpecious name would pleaſe a people that made war for gain: Or elſe of more fine counſels then reſolute action, and thought the diſcovery of his myſteries would juſtifie his practices, that he had laid his deſigns ſo deep, that in time they would eaſily undermine all the power of the *Syracuſan* Potter, without the coſt and hazard of the *Punick* blood and treaſure. But *counſels too finely ſpun are eaſily broken, and ſo deep a contrivance agrees not with the impatience of the Vulgar, to whom ſpeedy undertakings ſeem always moſt heroick; and ſlow, yet ſure, practices are interpreted by them as the motions of falſe or baſe ſpirits.* Or elſe *Amilcar* might be too conſcious that his coverous ſoul had been corrupted with the bribes and promiſes of *Agathocles*, a vice which *Ariſtotle* taxes in the *Carthaginian* Government, and therefore neglected the care of an Apology, which too evident crimes did render vain, and a contempt of death

Digitized by Google

unne-

unneceſſary. And thus fell *Amilcar*.

Dinocrates with the other Exiles waited not idly for the effect of their Embaſſie and the *Carthaginian* preparations, which they knew would be ſlow, but were very active for their own reſtitution. And therefore he ſent forth a party under the Command of *Nymphodorus* to *Centoripa*, a Garriſon of *Agathocles*, where he held a Correſpondence with ſome of the City, who promiſed to deliver up the town to him upon condition of reſtoring their Liberty. The Governour had diſcovered the plot, yet ſuffers *Nymphodorus* to enter the town by night, where he cuts him off with his whole party. *Agathocles* was not more glad for the defeat of the Exiles, then for the opportunity he now had to ſeize upon the wealth of the Citizens, as being ingaged in a Conſpiracy againſt him, which he greedily takes from them with their lives, as being too great lovers of Liberty to breath in the ſame air with a Tyrant. This loſs broke not the courage of *Dinocrates*, but he having yet about three thouſand foot and not leſs then two thouſand horſe, poſſeſſes himſelf of *Calaria*, whether he was invited by a party of the City; where immediately he drives out the Faction that was for *Agathocles*, and incamps before the Town. The Tyrant upon the firſt intelligence, ſent *Paſiphilus* & *Demophilus* with a party of five thouſand againſt him. Theſe

Digitized by Google inga-

ingaging with the Exiles commanded by *Dinocrates* and *Philonides*, who led the several wings of their Army, the victory was for some time doubtful: but at last the Tyrants fortune prevailed, for *Philonides* being slain, and his wing routed, *Dinocrates* was forced to retreat. *Pasiphilus* in the pursuit kills many of the enemy, and recovers *Calaria*. Where, like his Master's servant, he omitted no act of cruelty and extortion upon the miserable Citizens. For *the Ministers of a Tyrant are educated by him to the nature of mastives, that they should onely fawn upon him that feeds them, and be cruel and bloody to every one else.* Proud with this Victory, *Agathocles* hastens with all the forces he could make to fight the *Carthaginians*, that were drawn out into the field, and had incamped on the hill *Ecnome*. But the *Africans* refusing the battel, as expecting more succours, he returns in triumph to *Syracuse*, as being the confessed Master of the Field, and with the spoils he had taken from the two wretched Cities, he doth adorn the best of his Ships.

Thus success waited upon the sword of *Agathocles*: his designs being still crowned with an issue greater then his hopes, as if Fortune no less then *Syracuse* were become his Slave. Had that slavish and prodigious Flattery been then invented, which our age hath heard practised

Digitized by Google

to

to a prosperous wickedness; he had been called the beloved darling of the Gods, and his creatures would have perswaded the miserable *Sicilians*, that Heaven had by this success sealed a grant of what by blood and perjury he had pre-usurped. But this was too gross a cheat to be imposed even upon the lying *Greeks*, and flattering *Sicilians*: who though they should have wanted so much light, as might fully discover that the Patronage of iniquity was incompatible with a Deity; yet common observation afforded them most clear evidences, that Adversity and Prosperity do not constitute the differences of Good and Bad; and that the most uninterrupted Success cannot calcine a wicked action to the purity of Vertue, which is the true and proper object of the love of Heaven: so that it would have been an attempt to undermine all honesty, and root out Religion, to attribute the love of a Deity, which is the reward and ornament due to justice onely, to impious persons, though never so prosperous. Besides, they daily saw that present successes are never intended by the Supreme Guider of the world, to be as hostages to secure those which receive them of a perpetual Felicity. So that neither his Love, nor his Laws of Right and Wrong could be read or interpreted by the changeable and unsteady light which is found in Humane affairs. Some of those whose sober breasts were never

Digitized by Google betrai-

betraied by a constant prosperity to insolence, but have seriously considered the uncertainties of our mortal condition, have suspected the Prodigality of their own fortunes, and been jealous even of the too much indulgence of Providence, and like wary Favorites, who doubting lest the effects of their Prince's love should be afterwards the object of his envy, have therefore professed a satiety in receiving, and offered to resign what they feared they could not keep. So some of those that considered the vicissitudes of humane affairs have been so far from interpreting their sudden and violent Prosperity for the evidence of the affection of Heaven, that they have doubted, whether by it they were marked out for the mockeries of Fortune, and that they were raised to such an height, from whence there was no descent but by a precipice. Some therefore have laboured to prevent their fortune, and leave her before they were left by her, and contemned her embraces, that they might not be sensible of her strokes. Others have thought to offer to their evil Genius, and by a voluntary loss or dissembled misfortune to satisfie their more adverse destinies. Thus the *Samian* Tyrant with the loss of his Ring would have bribed his fortune to no more dismal change. And *Augustus* bounded the *Roman* greatness, for fear of provoking its overthrow; and to divert the envy of his Thundering *Jupiter*, did dissemble a poverty, and

Digitized by Google

yearly

yearly begge. But *Agathocles* grew insolent with his present success, and promised to himself more gainful fruits of his wickedness then he had as yet received. But fortune that had thus far flattered him, did immediately forsake him, and discovered the hatefulness of his designs in a desperate state.

Lib. II.

THE *Carthaginians* about this time awakened with the daily information of *Agathocles* success, decreed to prosecute their war in *Sicily* more seriously, and to be more intent upon that glory and interest which they had there so long neglected. For they gave no heed to the sad relations and Embassies of the *Syracusan Banditi*, because they knew such mens hopes and desires to return home made them believe and relate things far from truth: nor did they value the faith of Exiles, because such when they find other waies of restitution to their Country, do betray the interest of those whom they have before excited to it, and so render

Digitized by Google

render all those perils and charges fruitless, which were at first undertaken for their sakes and upon their promises. But when *Agathocles* had through their neglect prevailed so far, as that he could now slight their power and despise their forces, they were more sollicitous to provide for that war. They make *Amilcar* the son of *Gisgo*, one of their most eminent Citizens, their General. A Person of a well-tempered courage, in whom the stoutness of a Souldier was mixed with the wisdome that was requisite for a Commander: he had been seldome unfortunate, but alwaies faithful, of Candour enough to reconcile and assure a doubtful friend, and of sufficient resolution to force an obstinate enemy. They allow him for this Expedition an hundred and thirty Gallies for service, and send with him two thousand of their own Citizens, among whom were many of their Nobless, ten thousand *Libyans*, one thousand *Tuscan* mercenaries, one thousand slingers of the Islands called *Baleares*, two thousand Chariots, with such a proportion of Mony, Arms and Corn as was thought convenient for the design. The greatness of their Army did almost ascertain them of victory, and therefore they looſed from the Haven with that alacrity and jollity, as if they went to spoil *Sicily*, and not to conquer it. But this power that seemed so terrible to the *Greeks*, became the mockery of the

winds: for in a ſudden tempeſt they loſt ſixty of their Gallies, two hundred Veſſels that carried the proviſions, many of their Nobility, and a great number of their leſs conſiderable Souldiers. This news coming to *Carthage*, cauſed a publick mourning, which they were uſed to expreſs by hanging their City walls with blacks.

The remains of this ſhipwreckt Fleet weathered out the Storm, and with much difficulty got into *Sicily*: where *Amilcar* by his good conduct and dexterous management did in ſome ſort correct the malignity of their fortune: for comforting and chearing up their ſpirits that had eſcaped the wreck, he takes into pay all the mercenary ſouldiers that he could meet with in the Iſland, then out of every City under the *Carthaginian* Dominion he collects the choiceſt youth; all which he joins with thoſe forces of his City that were there before incamped, and inlarges their camp in the ſame place, having provided all other things neceſſary for the War. By this his exceeding diligence, and the fame of a fortunate and ſtout Commander, he ſoon raiſed the hopes of his Confederates, ſtruck a terrour into his Enemies, and inſpired courage into his own Army, which now conſiſted of forty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, ſo that *Carthage* was ſcarce ſenſible of the loſs at Sea. *So brave*

Digitized by Google

Com-

Commanders do by wise counsels, as by remedies, heal the wounds which their Countries receive from Fortune. And Heaven seemed by the Storm to have onely presented to *Amilcar* an opportunity to Glory, that his great Vertues might appear in adverse accidents.

On the other side *Agathocles* was not so much troubled at these great preparations of the Enemy, though they did far exceed his forces, as at the conscience of his own Perfidiousness, which examples he feared would provoke an imitation in his own Vassals. For he suspected the revolt of most of the Towns he had garrison'd, that they being secured to him by no stronger a bond of subjection then a Fear of his Cruelty, which is but an ill mistress of Obedience, would soon surrender themselves up to the *Carthaginians*, and that the injured Cities would embrace this opportunity of Revenge, and combine with the Enemy. His greatest sollicitude was to secure *Gela*, of which he was most jealous, and which was likeliest to give the first Example of a Revolt, and might most securely doe it, the *Africans* being incamped within their Territories: and the loss of twenty of his Ships together with all their lading, being taken by the Enemy in that harbour, increased his fears, and made him more sollicitous to secure that City by a Garrison. This he did not dare openly to attempt, left

the *Geloans*, who watched an opportunity to honeſt their Revolt, ſhould take this advantage of delivering themſelves up to the *Carthaginians*, which would be of great loſs to him, and emolument to his Enemies. He therefore attempts them by Stratageme. Some of his moſt daring Souldiers he habits as Peaſants and Pedlers, that ſeemed to mind no buſineſs leſs then a ſurprize: theſe he ſends into the Town by ſeveral waies and ſmall companies, with their arms concealed, as coming to traffick, and continues the ſupply of them, till he conceived them equal to the Cities ſtrength, and able to ſecure the gates for his entrance. After them he follows with his whole Army, and entring without any reſiſtance, he preſently ſummons the people, and in a fierce and ſhort ſpeech charges them "*of contracting with the Old* "*Enemy, for the ſlavery of all the good people of* Sicily. Then, not to give them time to prove their Innocence, (for it was not their Faith he deſired, but their Mony and their Town) he immediately gives order to his Souldiers to ſlay the wealthieſt *Geloans*, which were above four thouſand, and makes a Proclamation, that whoſoever had Mony or Plate, and did not immediately bring it forth to him, ſhould ſuffer the tortures that were due to the Betrayers of their Country. This Slaughter and Terrours furniſh'd the Tyrant with a vaſt ſum of Mony, but a greater Hatred: for though

Digitized by Google

by

by these waies he terrified all his Vassals, yet this was but a weak security for their Allegiance, the *Sicilians* being rather overcome then subdued; *and it is easier to make Subjects then to keep them. Men may submit to the force of arms, but they will never obey but a just power. Agathocles* himself also did doubt the effects of this Cruelty; therefore that the number of the slain might not be known, he buries the dead bodies in the Town-ditch.

Leaving a Garrison in *Gela*, he marches towards the Enemy, who had incamped on the Hill *Ecnome*, or the *wicked hill:* for the Tyrant *Phalaris* having formerly there kept his Engine of Torment, the Brazen Bull, he had made the place infamous by his Cruelty; which did now seem to expiate the ignominy, by affording ground to those that were ready to punish a bloodier Villain then he that first dishonoured it. Over against them on another hill, that had also been a fortification of *Phalaris*, did *Agathocles* pitch his Tent. Betwixt both Armies ran the River *Himera*, which either used for their defence, while they forbore fighting, which was for some time, because the place had struck a terrour into both parties; for at that time there was a tradition of an ancient Prophecy, that *in that place there should fall a great number of men in battel:* and the Prediction not being so clear as to dis-

cover on which side the loss should be, both Armies were suspicious of their fortune, and not daring in a full body to pass the River, their Superstition and fear kept them from ingaging.

At length this accident drew them forth. The *Libyans* (whose Valour is wholly out of themselves, and their confidence in the swiftness of their horses) did usually pass the River to forage in the Enemies quarters. *Agathocles* not to lie idle, nor betray any fear by his quietness, was tempted to the like, and therefore sends a party upon the same design into the *Punick* quarters: these having done their business, returning heavy with booty, a party of the *Carthaginians* issued out of their Trenches to recover the spoil. This the *Syracusan* had foreseen, and therefore had laid an Ambush near the River, who, when the *Africans* were eager in the pursuit, and had inconsiderately passed the River, suddenly assaulted them, and chased them back to their own Trenches. *Agathocles*, who had seen all the action, grew insolent with the success of his Stratageme, and thought that now Victory courted him; and intending to take the advantage of this disorder of the Enemy, drew forth his whole Army to assault them within their Fortifications. Which being done with extraordinary speed, they had filled up the ditches,

Digitized by Google

ditches, broke down the Trenches, and entred the Camp, before the *Carthaginians* that were surprized could range themselves in order for defence. But confusedly (as it is usual in sudden assaults) disposing themselves in that place and Order which Fortune and their Courage did present, they stoutly endeavoured to avoid the ignominy of being beaten within their own defences. But the *Greeks* as eagerly followed their advantages, quickned with the hope of ending the War with this one Conflict; so that their courage and number still increased within the Camp; and the *Africans* hindred by their own disorders losing ground, they were not far from Victory, until *Amilcar* ranged and in good order opposed to them the Mercenaries of the *Balearick* Islands, who slinging stones of above the weight of a *Mina*, and being exact at the scope which they intend, (it being their onely weapon, and their continual practice from their infancy) poured such a showre of stones upon the *Greeks*, that forced them to quit their ground and forsake the Trenches. *Agathocles* notwithstanding despaired not of success, but in another quarter assaults the Camp: and when he had filled up the ditches, and was almost master of the trenches, behold another party of *Carthaginians*, that were but just then landed, as they drew near to the Camp, hearing the shouts and noise of them that were fighting, made haft, and set upon

the Enemies in the back; so striking a terrour greater then their strength upon the *Greeks*, who were yet stoutly opposed in the Front, that they believed that they were assailed by a bigger Army then they did assault, and therefore sought for safety by flight, as despairing of victory over so numerous an Enemy. Some ran towards their Camp, who being pursued by the *Africans*, strewed all the way with their dead bodies. Others fled by the banks of *Himera*, and met with as certain a death as that they feared from the sword of their Enemies: for thirsty through rage and toil of the Battel, which happened to be at noon in the Dog-daies, they drank so greedily of the brackish water, that they immediately fell down dead; & they were not fewer who were found dead without any wounds all along the banks of the River, then those that were wounded and slain in the rout, *Agathocles* having lost above seven thousand, and the *Carthaginians* but five hundred. Thus Providence did as it were strive by re-iterated strokes to curb the present insolence of this inhumane Tyrant. First, by snatching the Victory almost out of his possession, in such a juncture bringing an unexpected force, that did both confound his orders and break his vigour: upon such uncertain moments does the fortune of Battels and the fate of Kingdomes depend. And secondly, he did increase the loss, and destroy the hopes of a second attempt, by cutting

Digitized by Google

off

off those whose unwounded bodies might have renewed the fight.

Agathocles himself, reserved for a longer plague to mankind, escaped to his Tents, where gathering up the pieces of his broken Army, he burns his Camp, and hastens to *Gela*, but caused a report to be raised that he was fled to *Syracuse*: this afforded him an opportunity of some small Revenge upon three hundred *Africans*, who being informed by the Prisoners that the Tyrant was retreated to *Syracuse*, securely entred into *Gela*, as suspecting no enemy in it; but they found him and their destruction there together. He had not shut himself up there because he could not get to *Syracuse*, but upon design to draw the *Carthaginians* to besiege that place, that he might gain time to fortifie and victual *Syracuse* for the future events of the war. But *Amilcar*, that at first had thought to have lain down before *Gela*, hearing it was well mann'd and sufficiently stored to endure a tedious Siege, changed his resolutions, and applies himself to take in those other Towns which now courted him for acceptance. *Camarina*, *Leontium*, *Catana* and *Tauromenium*, upon the first news of the Victory gave themselves up to the *Carthaginian* Commands: a few daies after *Messene*, *Abacanum*, and many other Cities submitted to *Amilcar*, who courteously treating all, and

Digitized by Google

imposing

impoſing eaſie conditions, made them prefer the *Punick*, a noble, though a forein, bondage, to the ignominious ſervice of an abject Potter: and generally through the whole Iſland the Overthrow of *Agathocles* gave a liberty to all to expreſs their hatred of him. For *when people ceaſe to fear thoſe that rule onely by it, they begin to hate them.* And it was not ſo much the loſs of one Battel, as his own Perfidiouſneſs and Cruelty, that tore the yoke from the *Sicilians* necks. *Cruel Empires, though they be abſolute, yet are not laſting.*

The Tyrant hearing the daily defection of the Cities, and that his own Wickedneſs, and the *Punick* fortune had left him nothing but *Syracuſe*, he draws out all his forces from *Gela*, and with haſt retreats thither, leſt the Example of others and the Terrour of the Enemy might tempt it to the ſame faith. There he emploies the remains of his Army to repair and fortifie the Walls, to fetch as much Proviſion as they could from the adjoining Country, and to fit all things neceſſary for a long Siege. For his bold and reſtleſs ſoul, that knew not how to live unleſs a Tyrant, had revolved all things, and perſwaded to every trial. For *to men that have loſt their firſt hopes any thing that is future doth ſeem beſt.* At laſt he projected to transfer the War from the Iſland to the Continent; and when he was over-matched with

Digitized by Google but

but a part of the *Carthaginian* force in *Sicily*, he would dare their whole ſtrength in *Africk*.

This deſign, which on another Enemy had been raſh and dangerous, did now appear ſafe and eaſie. For the long Peace and Proſperity of the *Africans* had ſoftned them to an impatience of enduring the toils of War; and the too jealous arts of Empire which the *Carthaginians* uſed, (as to diſarm all their Vaſſals, and to embaſe by cruel Oppreſſions their leſs potent Confederates) did aſſure him of but a weak oppoſition, and that by ſuch an unexpected Invaſion he ſhould obtain enough ſpoil to repair all his loſſes at home, and that the ſucceſs of one Battel would force his Enemies to call home their forces to guard their own Cities. Therefore when it was the general expectation that he ſhould ſubmit to the conquering fate of *Carthage*, his Mind ſeemed to grow greater by his Miſeries, and that he would ſtill look Fortune in the face.

To execute this project, he chuſes out ſuch of his Souldiers as he thought fitteſt for the enterprize, and gave order that the Horſemen ſhould provide themſelves onely of Saddles and Bridles, that when he ſhould get ſome *African* horſe, they might not want neceſſaries to mount them: for although in the late over-

throw

Digitized by Google

throw the loſs fell moſt upon the Foot, and he had ſaved all his Horſe; yet he wanted convenient time and Veſſels to tranſport them. Then to prevent any Treachery in his abſence, he made his brother *Antander* Governour of *Syracuſe*: and to ſecure him from Seditions and Revolts, he divides every Family, the Children from the Fathers, and the Brothers one from another, carrying one part along with him as Hoſtages for their quiet ſubjection that tarried at home: for he conceived that though their Hate were never ſo high againſt him, yet would they forbear any practices, leſt he ſhould revenge their efforts upon thoſe their Friends he had with him. Then to increaſe both his Army and the Garriſon, he manumiſſed all the Slaves, and put them into arms. At home he thought they would be ready to diſcover the ſecret counſels of their Maſters, & ſo they are often made uſe of by Tyrants; abroad they would raiſe an emulation in the free-men to a Military hardineſs and bold attempts. His next care was how to get Mony, and to this he forbore no Wickedneſs that he could imagine profitable. He ſeizeth upon the Stock and goods of young Orphans, forcing it from their Guardians, declaring that he was fitter for that truſt then they, and promiſing that when they came of age, he would reſtore all again more faithfully: he forced a Loan from the richeſt Merchants, deſpoiled the Women of all their gol-

Digitized by Google

den

den Ornaments, and robbed every Temple of the consecrated Offerings. Then being informed of the discontents of many of the richest Citizens, who referred all their present Troubles and Dangers to his insatiable appetite of Greatness, he calls an assembly of the People, and with a countenance composed to grief and tears he speaks after this manner to them.

"*That War is alwaies accounted just which* "*is necessary, and then Arms are deemed pi-* "*ous, when they are the last refuge of those* "*that use them. This is that which doth ad-* "*just the proceedings of this Commonwealth* "*against our Old Enemy, the faithless and* "*barbarous* Carthaginians, *a people made for* "*the plague of the World, and with whom* "*Peace is more dangerous then War. For their* "*Religion is Cruelty, and by a cursed emula-* "*tion they are more bloody then the Gods they* "*worship; being inhumane to their own Chil-* "*dren, and barbarously ingrateful to their most* "*faithful Commanders. How miserable then* "*must it needs be to be their Slaves? These,* "*when* Africk *had nothing left but Sands and* "*Deserts which had not submitted to their vio-* "*lent and perfidious arts, to recreate their* "*wanton thirst of blood and treasure, have in-* "*vaded* Sicily, *pretending no other cause of* "*war but our generous love of Liberty, and*

Digitized by Google

"*their*

" *their boundleſs deſire of Tyranny. To whoſe*
" *attempts, had the Gods been pleaſed to favour*
" *our juſt arms, we had put an iſſue at the*
" *Battel of* Himera, *and forced them to*
" *bound their Inſolencies with the Sea. But*
" *Fortune, not their Valour, ſnatched the Vi-*
" *ctory from us there, and hath now brought*
" *them to our Walls: where unleſs we behave*
" *our ſelves as perſons worthy of Liberty, we*
" *muſt endure the heavieſt Slavery, and in*
" *chains be the abject ſpectators of the Rapes of*
" *our Wives, the Murders of our Children*
" *& aged Parents, & ſee them wanton with that*
" *Wealth which hath been the price of our ſweat*
" *& blood. For how can we expect a tolerable*
" *Peace from them, who make War not for Glo-*
" *ry, but for Wealth and Luſt? And in vain*
" *ſhould we expect Faith from them that are*
" *the Examples of Perfidy to the whole world.*
" *So that the continuance of the War as well as*
" *the beginnings are not matter of our choice, but*
" *neceſſity. If any ſhall imprudently condemn*
" *us, that we rather provoked then expected the*
" Punick *Arms, they are forgetful of the duty*
" *of a wiſe Prince, who ought to foreſee dangers,*
" *and not decline a preſent Hazard to prevent a*
" *future Ruine. Nor can that people eſcape*
" *the cenſure of being imprudent, which is ſo*
" *in love with a preſent Peace, that they will*
" *ſit ſtill, untill their Enemie hath by inſlaving*
" *all their leſs potent Neighbours made him-*

Digitized by Google

ſelf

"*self too strong for their resistance. Such re-*
"*solutions therefore that are necessary, are not*
"*subject to blame or praise; neither are they to*
"*be measured by the Event: for many times*
"*sage Counsels want that desired Success which*
"*often attends those that are indiscreet. And*
"*if the approbation of either should depend upon*
"*the Issue, men would be incouraged to erre, and*
"*disheartned from giving their Country those*
"*safe advices which are the resolves of Pru-*
"*dence. Since therefore it was neither in our*
"*power, nor should it have been our choice, to*
"*have avoided the War, and that the Gods*
"*would not give Victory as the Merit of our*
"*Cause; if we will retain our Liberty (which*
"*should be more precious then our Lives) there*
"*remains nothing now to doe, but stoutly to*
"*wait for the return of our Fortune, and with*
"*patience endure the miseries of a Siege, which*
"*I doubt will be very great: yet I that have*
"*learned to be unhappy, can easily endure, for*
"*it is some alleviation of misery to know the*
"*greatness of our Misfortune; but my spirit*
"*is grieved for those of the Good people that*
"*must be shut up with me, and must be neces-*
"*sitated to endure those unaccustomed dangers*
"*and continual fears. Therefore I require all*
"*such as think themselves unequal to so adverse*
"*a fortune, to forsake the Town, and secure*
"*themselves and their goods where they can hope*
"*for most Peace and Safety.*

Digitized by Google

All

All those that were Rich, whose abundance made them soft, and who feared to hazard their Wealth to maintain the Tyrants Greatness, and such whose Hate of him made them willing to leave the den of such a Monster, were credulous of what he said, and accepted of this profer'd Liberty. But they soon learnt that *a Tyrant is never to be believed, even in his most melting expressions, or lowest condition:* for he had appointed his Mercenaries to kill them as they offered to depart, and to seize their goods. Thus by a compendious Villany he delivered himself of sixteen hundred men which he did not dare to trust in the Town, and inriched himself with their Goods, which they were removing farther from him.

Having by these wicked arts provided all things necessary for his purpose, the rest that he could not order he permits to Fate, knowing that *something must be ventured*, and that *many things which exceed the providence of man, are often by Fortune disposed for the best.* These his provisions and Souldiers together with himself and his Son *Archagathus* he brings a shipboard, so waiting for an opportunity to get out of the Haven; resolving to take his counsels for that from the accidents of Fortune: for *many times such counsels do discover themselves in working, which in a bare expectation had been for ever lost.* The concealment of his Design

Digitized by Google

was

was no leſs wonderful then the boldneſs of it; for he had communicated his intentions to none, either through his natural Pride, or fear of diſcovery and diſappointment, or doubting the contradiction of his Friends and Counſellors, which is the common bane of Counſels: For *men commonly through opiniaſtrete diſlike and labour to overthrow thoſe deſigns which, though never ſo noble, proceeded not from themſelves.* Or fearing the diſcouragement of his Army: For *Vulgar ſpirits are alwaies enemies to difficult undertakings.* Therefore for ſome or all theſe reaſons, he ſuppreſſed his Intentions, onely giving forth that he had found out a new and ſafe way of Victory. This great concealment cauſed ſeveral diſcourſes among the *Speculativi.* "Some conceived that this "way was to ſail into *Italy*, and there ga- "ther up ſuch whom great neceſſities made ha- "zardous, and with them to attempt the for- "tune of a ſecond Battel. Others, that his "intent was to land his little party in ſome o- "ther places of that Iſland that were under the "*African* Empire, and ſo divert the Enemy "from the Siege of *Syracuſe*. "But all con- "cluded thoſe unhappy men as loſt and devo- "ted to deſtruction, that were forced to follow "the Raſhneſs of ſuch a Commander that "ſeemed infatuated to ruine. So they wept over their Friends and Kindred, whoſe miſera- ble departure from among the living ſeemed

Digitized by Google

to be respited onely by the *Carthaginian* Fleet that then lay in the mouth of the Haven.

This Obstruction had so long delaied *Agathocles*, that he grew almost mad: to get forth he saw it was impossible, and to stand still was dangerous. Therefore when his restless Mind had presented many plots, and upon the rejecting of one had suggested another, and none would attain his end; at length Fortune administred such an advantage, as his own Reason or Power could never have invented or made. For some of the Victualling vessels that had been sent forth to bring Provisions to the City were now returning, and being come somewhat near the shore, were discovered by the Enemy, who presently with their whole Fleet made up to take them, and by this means left the mouth of the Haven open to *Agathocles*; who not to let slip this joyful season, with a full spred sail made out to Sea. The *Carthaginians*, that had now almost attaqued the Victuallers, seeing the *Greeks* coming out with so many Ships, at first thought they intended the rescue of the Victuallers, and so left off the chace of them, and prepared themselves for fight. But seeing they kept a straight course, and that they had now gotten some distance from them, they then set themselves to the pursuit of *Agathocles*; and by this means gave opportunity to the Victuallers, being thus strangely delivered, safely

Digitized by Google

to

to unlade at *Syracuse*, and to store that City, which already began to suffer scarcity. And *Agathocles* incouraging his Sailors to the greatest diligence of keeping that advantage of distance which they had already gotten before the *Punick* Fleet, was preserved out of their hands all the day, till towards Evening the Enemy, who were better Sea-men, coming up close, and being almost ready to ingage him, the approaching Night rescued him out of that danger. Thus this bold attempt had as wonderful a success: and Heaven intending to humble the *Carthaginian* Pride by a baffled Enemy, removed those obstructions which seemed invincible. Hence it was evident, that though men cannot resist Providence, yet they may administer unto it, and may weave the webs though they cannot break the threds thereof: therefore they ought never to abandon themselves, not knowing their end: and though Providence traverseth unknown waies, yet have they reason to follow it, and to hope in whatsoever condition they find themselves.

But though they had thus passed over the dread of the *Africans*, the next day his whole Army was assaulted with a new Terrour. For there happening an exceeding great Eclipse of the Sun, whereby it was so dark that it appeared like the return of Night, and many Stars did appear, the ruder Souldiers ignorant of

the reaſon, apprehended it as a ſad *Omen* of their preſent Affairs, and were the more fit for ſuch impreſſions by the as yet freſh fears of their late dangers. For *affrighted ſpirits are eaſily moved to Superſtition; and that which in Peace had been looked upon as a Chance or the ordinary courſe of Nature, was now called Fate and the Anger of the Gods.* Firſt Religion, then Fear invaded their minds: for they bewailed this "*as a portent of a moſt diſmal* "*and comfortleſs iſſue, and the deſign was ſuch,* "*as the Sun would not afford light, being con-*"*trary to the minds of the Gods drawn forth* "*to unknown Coaſts.* *Agathocles*, though he (as all Tyrants) was not ſubject to the fears of Heaven, nor capable of any apprehenſion that looked like Religion, and ſo was apt to contemn theſe affrightments of the Vulgar; yet doubtful how far ſuch might work the fears of the common rout, to a revengeful fury of turning all the miſchief of this Prodigy upon his head who expoſed them to the dangers, was therefore ſollicitous to take off the Terrour by a dexterous Interpretation. For *ſuch inſignificant ſigns, which the Vulgar take for the meſſages of Heaven, may receive contrary comments, according to the humour and intereſt of him that is the Augur: and it is the Event onely that gives them the authentickneſs of an Oracle.* He therefore himſelf turns *Augur*, and expounds this obſcure Text to his own advantage.

Digitized by Google

tage. For he tells them, "*that if this Portent had* "*happened before they began their Expedition,* "*then might they justly have feared the sad ef-* "*fects thereof; but it now coming after so fortunate* "*a beginning, it must be conceived to presage* "*all its dangers to those against whom the Ex-* "*pedition is intended. Besides, such defects of* "*the natural Luminaries always note the* "*change of affairs; but a change could not be* "*terrible to them that were beneath the level of* "*Danger, but to the flourishing estate of victo-* "*rious* Carthage. *And that this Portent did* "*directly strike at them was certain, because* "*they were the Worshippers of the Sun, and the* "*labours of a God did always signifie the age-* "*nies and ruines of his Idolaters.* This Exposition did relieve the spirits of his Army, and made them with more chearfulness endure the hazards and toils of six daies & nights continued sailing. For *nothing more strongly leads the Multitude then Superstition; and when this hath seized on them, they will with more readiness follow their Priests, then their Captains.*

On the seventh day in the morning they were within ken of the coast of *Africk*, and at the same time discovered the *Carthaginians* not far from them. Thereupon both parties plying their Oars and Sails, strove which should first compass their design. The *Carthaginians* hoped to make this the last act to the conquest of

Sicily, all the oppoſition of which was carried in thoſe Bottomes. Fear quickned the *Greeks* to avoid moſt bitter Tortures in themſelves, and the Slavery of all that was dear unto them at *Syracuſe*. Therefore each ſide contended and doubled their diligence, according to their hopes or fears. The *Africans* had the advantage of Oars and Sails; the *Sicilians* in the neareſt diſtance to the ſhore, and the number of fighting men aboard. The foremoſt of the Tyrant's Veſſels had attained the ſhore, and landed ſome men, when the hindermoſt were attaqued by the Enemy. But many *Greeks* having now a firm footing on land, by their Bows and Slings forced back the *Punick* Fleet, and made them forſake the Veſſels they were almoſt ſeized of, not having an equal number of men; nor could they ſo certainly direct their Arrows out of the Ships, as thoſe that had a ſtable footing.

The Tyrant being got upon the Continent, preſently lands all his men at a place called the *Quarries*, and having raiſed a ſlight Trench drew all his Ships aground; which with another act of boldneſs anſwerable to his deſign he was reſolved to burn. For if he would preſerve them, he muſt weaken his ſmall ſtrength by leaving a guard for their defence, otherwiſe they would fall into the hands of his Enemies. Beſides, by this means he ſhould neceſſitate his Army to a Victory; for when they had loſt

Digitized by Google

the

the means and hopes of a Return, they muſt either conquer or periſh. To perform this, he ſaw he muſt proceed by Art, for the Souldiers would not eaſily conſent to loſe all hopes of return to their Native ſoil. Therefore he firſt deals with thoſe Captains and Maſters of the Ships he did moſt confide in, and inviting them to a Sacrifice which he made to *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, the *Sicilian* Goddeſſes, he acquaints them, and perſwades them to further his counſels. Then calling the whole Army together, he comes forth amongſt them habited with Prieſtly garments, and a Crown on his head, (which he wore as a Prieſt, for he had not yet aſſumed that enſign of Royalty) he acquaints them with his deſign in coming into *Africk*, and ſpeaks to this purpoſe.

"*Our happy and ſafe arrival in* Africk *cannot make either you or me forget the dangers* "of Syracuſe, *where we left the good people of* "*that Commonwealth, with all that can make* "*us deſirous of life, and ſweeten our toils for* "*wealth and glory, beſieged by our Old bloody* "*Enemy the* Carthaginians. *To deliver them* "*and our ſelves from preſent Ruine there was* "*no way left, but either by unworthy conditions* "*to lengthen out our lives in Slavery, for which* "*we could have no ſecurity from a perfidious* "*Enemy; or to truſt to our own ſwords, and* "*by a brave reſiſtance of our adverſe fortune*

"*wreſt*

"wrest the Victory from our Conquerours. To "execute this Heroick resolution was not to suf- "fer our selves to be pent up in the walls of a "Town, for there we must have fought with "Famine no less then with the Enemy, where "our wants would have broke our faith: The "fears and cries of our Wives and Children "would have disarmed us, and quenched our "noble heats for Victory, and importuned us "to a present, though uncertain, security with "Bondage, rather then to continue the dangers "of a Siege for Liberty and Glory. But the "surest and easiest way is to transport the War "into Africk, and carry that flame which would "have consumed us in Sicily, to the gates of "Carthage. For the advantages in that War "which is managed in an Enemies Country are "far greater then in that which we are forced "to wage at home. In this last we can expect "no succours but what that remnant of our "wasted Country, which our Enemies will leave "unto us, can afford. But abroad you shall see "that the Enemy may be overcome by his own "strength, through the revolt of their oppressed "Vassals, the discontents of their injured Con- "federates, (who are continually panting after a "forein hand that may help to break their ha- "ted yoke.) Besides, we have to doe with an E- "nemy whom security hath made weak, and "the desires of Profit and Pleasure have drawn "away from all defences: For their Towns and

Digitized by Google "Cities

"*Cities have not the fortifications of Art or*
"*Nature, neither incompaſſed with Walls, nor*
"*built on Hills; but ſeated in pleaſant fields*
"*and champian countries, hedged about with*
"*vineyards and retirements of Pleaſure, which*
"*will rather invite then keep off an Enemy. So*
"*that your very ſight will make them ſenſible*
"*of their weakneſs, and the fear of us will*
"*perſwade their ſoftned ſpirits to a ſubjection*
"*and compliance with us to the ruine of* Car-
"thage, *which ſhall feel the War to burn hot-*
"*ter here then that ſhe hath kindled in* Sicily,
"*while every hand conſpires to root up that proud*
"*City, that hath hitherto born up her Tyranny*
"*by an empty name of Greatneſs, and the cre-*
"*dulity of her abject Slaves, then by real Va-*
"*lour or ſolid Strength. Thus ſhall we gather*
"*up that force which we brought not with us.*
"*Beſides, the ſuddenneſs of her Terrours and the*
"*bravery of our Courage will facilitate and aſ-*
"*certain our Victory, when ſhe ſhall tremble at*
"*the invaſion of that Enemy whom ſhe deſpiſed*
"*and reputed her Slaves: and ſhe will grow ſtu-*
"*pid, when the flames of her Villages, Caſtles*
"*and pertinacious Towns ſhall give them light*
"*to ſee, that Deſtruction hath as eaſie an acceſs*
"*to them as they have made for it to others.*
"*This is the art not onely to pull down the* Pu-
"nick *greatneſs, but alſo to put an end to the*
"*miſeries of* Sicily, *where the Enemy will no*
"*longer ſtay to overthrow her Liberty, but*
"*haſten*

Digitized by Google

"*haſten to prevent their own Slavery. And as*
"*we cannot deſire an eaſier War, ſo we cannot*
"*hope for richer booties; for in the ſacking of*
"Carthage *we ſhall plunder all the wealth of*
"Africk, *and recover all the ſpoils that they*
"*have ſtolen from* Sicily. *Nor will our Glory*
"*be leſs then our Profits, whenas all ſucceeding*
"*Ages ſhall be taught by the preſent, that we*
"*were the firſt that invented and bravely pra-*
"*ctiſed the Heroick Art of transferring that*
"*War to our Enemies doors, which we were not*
"*able to endure at home; that chaſed our*
"*Conquerours, and beſieged our Beſiegers: ſo*
"*that we ſhall ſtill live in their imitation. To*
"*expedite this eaſie War, to gather theſe infi-*
"*nite Treaſures, and to raiſe up ſuch a laſting*
"*monument for our Fame, the Gods require no*
"*more then bold hopes for our ſelves, and juſt*
"*Piety towards them. For they have aſſured*
"*me of Victory and Succeſſe in the whole War,*
"*not onely by auſpicious ſigns in the Sacrifices,*
"*but alſo in hearing my Prayers, and accep-*
"*ting my Vows, which I made to* Ceres *and*
"Proſerpina *the Patroneſſes of our beloved*
"*Iſland, that if they ſhould ſafely conduct you*
"*to the ſhores of* Africk, *I would burn all my*
"*Ships as an offering to them. Therefore ſince*
"*they have made ſo full a return to my Pray-*
"*ers, and have ſo carefully preſerved you to*
"*the acquiſition of Wealth and Glory, it is fit*
"*that I do not provoke their anger to blaſt this*

Digitized by Google"*enter-*

"*enterprize by a ſacrilegious neglect of my Re-*
"*ligious Vows.*

When he had ſaid thus, one of his Servants puts into his hand a lighted Torch, and he commanded the like to be delivered to all his Captains: then invoking *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, he ſet fire to the *Prætorian* Ship, and all the Officers did the like to theirs; and when the flame had kindled upon the Ships, he orders the Trumpets to ſound a charge, and the whole Army gave a ſhout, & every one praied for an happy return home. But this ſudden joy was violent & ſhort, too like the flame with which it began and waſted. For the *Sicilians*, though at firſt they were bewitched with the ſpeech, and cheated with the Arts of the Tyrant, who had called that Religion which was but his Neceſſity and Deſign, neither giving time to conſult, nor expecting their conſent; yet at laſt, when they turned their eyes from the periſhing flames, and look'd upon the Sea, they began to meaſure in their thoughts the vaſt diſtance betwixt them and home; they compared the mercileſs waves with the dangers on the land, where ſo ſmall a number were to be expoſed to the fury of a mighty Commonwealth: the memory of the Battel of *Himera*, and the late terrours of the *Carthaginian* Fleet grew freſh, and appalled all thoſe ſanguine hopes their falſe Leader had ſuggeſted: and when they reflected again upon

upon the ashes of their burnt Ships, and saw all the means of a Return cut off, they cursed their cruel destinies, and their Joy (as it is usual with all sudden Passions) expired into Despair and Madness, and had any one dared to begin, they were all disposed to mutiny. *Agathocles* perceived the change, and feared the effects; and therefore to give vent to that dark and melancholy humour, which like a dismal cloud threatned a Tempest, he led them out to invade the *African* Empire, that it might spend all its fury upon the Enemy, and not be troublesome to their Commander. So designing the first attempt against *Megalopolis*, he leads them thither with a moderate march: not too slow, lest he should confess a fear by delaies; nor too hasty, both that he might give leave to Fame to render him stronger then he was, (For *distant terrours are alwaies believed greater then they are; and when the truth cannot be discovered, Fear doth conjecture many false dangers*) as also that he might permit his Souldiers to take a full prospect of the Country, which through their whole march appeared so delightful and rich, that it did rather refresh then weary their drooping spirits. For the whole Country abounded with Vineyards, Orchards of all kind of Fruits, Gardens and places of Pleasure. The Fields and manured grounds seemed to labour under the burden of the crop, the Pastures with variety of Cattel

Digitized by Google boasted

boasted the riches of the owners; every piece of ground was exactly watered with Rivers and Aqueducts, adorned with stately and magnificent houses, which bragged of as much Riches within as there was plenty without. This being the Country whither the wealthier *Carthaginians* made their diversions, when they were wearied with the tumult and business of the City. The happiness of the soil soon raised the hopes of the *Sicilians*, when they saw there were equal rewards for their labours, and large booties for their Victories. Then all began to praise and commend the prudence of *Agathocles*, and duty with the love of Obedience returned to every breast. *So unsteady are the motions of Vulgar souls, whose considerations being fastned to the present objects, vary according to their appearances.*

Agathocles makes use of this present temper, and therefore giveth a sudden storm to the City, which through long Peace had outlived the knowledge of an Enemy and all experience of War, and at this time thought of nothing less then an Invasion, and so was soon master'd by the desperate *Greeks*; to whom their Leader gave the plunder of the Town, that so he might raise their Courage, and feed their hopes by the booty. From thence he marches to a City called *White Tunis*, which was about two hundred and fifty miles from *Carthage*, and makes

Digitized by Google

it

it fall under the ſame fate as the other did; they being alſo circumvented by the ſecurity of Peace, and miſchiefs of War. The Army being now inriched by the ſpoils of theſe two Cities, would have them garriſon'd as places to depoſite their pillage. *Agathocles* (that knew how deſtructive this would be to his enterprize, and that the more hopes they had of a refuge, they would have the leſs courage to fight) tells them, "*that the booty which they*
"*had as yet got, was but poor and contemptible*
"*to thoſe vaſt treaſures one Victory would*
"*Enemy would afford; and that until that*
"*were paſt no place could be ſecure, but after-*
"*wards every Village would be a ſafe depoſitory*
"*to the conqueror.* And urging this with ſuch authority as his ſucceſs had now heightned, he cauſes them to demoliſh thoſe two Towns, and incamps in the field, leſt the retirements of the City ſhould ſoften them by Luxury before the encounter which he expected from the Enemy.

In the mean while the *Carthaginian* Fleet, that rode about the ſhore to wait the iſſue of the *Sicilians* landing, when they had ſeen them burn their Ships, did at firſt triumph, ſuppoſing that their fears had driven them to ſuch deſperate counſels: but when they ſaw them draw off from the ſhore, and march up into the neighbouring country, they then conjectured

Digitized by Google

red at their design, and judged that the flames of those ships would kindle a fire in their Commonwealth, and therefore wish'd they could have quench'd them with the *Sicilian* blood or their own tears. Thus expressing their fears and sorrows with great lamentations, and hanging the prowes of their Gallies with skins, (which was the ceremony of sadness when any great misfortune befell their City) they gathered up the brazen beaks of the burnt ships, and sent them with the Intelligence of what had happened to the Senate. But before this advice came, *Carthage* was alarmed by the affrighted Peasants and Fugitives of the sacked Towns, who fled thither for succour and shelter from the destructive *Greeks*; and, as it is usual, they had magnified every thing to the greatest terrour. The whole City was amazed with this unexpected Invasion, and could not reconcile this sadder news with the Intelligence of their late Victory at *Himera*, but by supposing their condition worse, and that by the fortune of a second Battel they had lost all their forces both by Sea and Land. For otherwise they conceived *Agathocles* would never have dared to assail his Conquerours at their own gates; or could have been so rashly greedy, as for some hasty spoils of *Africk*, to have left *Syracuse* a prey to the besiegers; nor could he have passed the Sea, had his enemies Fleet been yet unattempted.

Digitized by Google

These

Theſe ſad apprehenſions filled all minds with horrour and confuſion. The Senate with fear and haſt was gathered into the *Piazza*, and the people with hideous clamours flocking about them, requiring them maturely to conſult the ſafety of their Republick, which ſeemed now upon the Verge of Ruine. The exceſs of fear in every Order made them undervalue their own ſtrength; and the greater diligence and the more arts every one uſed to conceal it, made them appear more evidently fearful. They diſcourſed how that they had no Army of Mercenaries ready to oppoſe the Enemy; their Nobleſs was ſluggiſh, luxurious, and by a long Peace ſoftned to effeminacy; their more hopeful Youth were either loſt in the Shipwreck, or emploied in the Iſland; the Populacy were wholly ignorant of arms, and now ſo terrified, that they would never dare to fleſh themſelves on an experienced Enemy, hardned with former perils, heightned with ſpoils, and, as they ſuſpected, with a mighty Victory. Therefore in this doubtful ſtate of affairs, ſome were of advice to ſend Commiſſioners to treat with *Agathocles* concerning Peace, and by that advantage to inform themſelves fully of their Enemies ſtrength: Others were of opinion that they ſhould defer any ſuch Treaty, till they were acquainted with the ſtate of their own Army, and ſo to manage themſelves accordingly. But while they were diſtra-

Digitized by Google

cted

cted with these different counsels, the messengers from the Admiral arrive at the Haven; who giving them a particular account of what had happened, and shewing them the beaks of their Enemies Ships, did allay their fears, but heightned their indignation against their Sea-Officers, that through baseness or folly had suffered a baffled Enemy to invade *Africk*; and venting their fury in a censure of them, with more calm spirits they fall to consult of fitting Remedies for the present Mischief.

The knowledge of their own and *Agathocles*'s condition made them despise their half-conquered Enemy; therefore scorning to treat with him of Peace, they resolved upon the finishing of the War. To this end, as more jealous of their Liberty then doubtful of Victory, (which is seldome obtained by divided Commands) they appoint two Generals, *Bomilcar* and *Hanno*; Persons of different tempers and opposite Factions. The first cruel, faithless, ambitious and impatient of equality: the other more desirous of Glory then Power; of a civil Modesty, fierce against an Enemy, but tender of his own Citizens. *Bomilcar* was chosen, because his Greatness made it dangerous to pass him by in so honourable an employment; but *Hanno*, to watch over the others actions, which not onely the love of his Country, but also an ancient fewd betwixt their Families, did as-

ſure them would be with the moſt exact circumſpection. His Integrity they hoped would ſo temper his Paſſions, that he would not to his private Diſcords ſacrifice the Publick Safety in the male-adminiſtration of his charge; and his hate of *Bomilcar* promiſed a ſufficient ballance to his aſpiring ſoul, who was ſuſpected to affect the Tyranny, but as yet wanted an opportunity to ſatisfie his Ambition. Therefore they durſt not truſt him alone with ſuch an extraordinary power, as they muſt expect onely from his Modeſty when he would lay it down.

A Vertue ſometimes wanting in the *Carthaginian* Nobleſs, who often attempted upon the Liberty of their Commonwealth. Which ſome refer to the vitious conſtitution of their Government, that preferr'd ſuch to the higheſt truſt whoſe eenſe was largeſt, and ſo made Wealth, not Vertue, the mark for Honour. For they thought the greatneſs of their intereſt in their Country would oblige them to a greater induſtry for its preſervation. This indeed is a remedy proper againſt a forein yoke, but an inciteement to domeſtick Tyranny. For ſuch, as they will be watchful guardians to preſerve their City from others, ſo will they often make attempts upon it themſelves. And *thoſe that abound with Wealth, when they ſee Glory and Power are the attendants of it, grow inſolent, and diſdeem the Supreme power but their due:*

Digitized by Google *Equality*

Equality of Honour being not competent with the inequality of Fortune. It was accounted the great preſervative of the *Roman* Liberty, that Riches came into no conſideration when they came to chuſe the Commanders of their Forces, but they would fetch their Dictators from the plough, and nominate thoſe for Conſuls whoſe eſtates were ſo ſcanty, that the publick ſtock muſt defray the charges of their Funerals, and provide portions for their fatherleſs Daughters. Theſe men after they ſatisfied the publick charge, and eminently ſerved their Commonwealth, haſted home to look after their narrow fortunes and their few acres; when they had yoked the Enemy, returned to doe the like to their Oxen, and to finiſh the Tillage they had begun; and ſo became private perſons, and were obedient to the ordinary Magiſtrates, contented with their turnipe, and deſiring no more of the ſpoil of the conquered then a wooden goblet to uſe in Sacrifices. So that they gave not the leaſt jealouſie of Tyranny to the people, who ſtill making their choice by the Merit of the perſons, had ſo many *Virtuoſi* among them, men glorious with ſeveral Victories, that they were a guard for the Publick againſt each other. Thus ſpoiling Riches of that glory which is given to it in a corrupt State, they preſerved their own Liberty and the *Patricians* Modeſty, till the love of Wealth entred; and then followed the deſire of Empire.

Others referred this to the baſe Ingratitude of the People, which is the uſual diſeaſe of all Democracies, who rewarded their victorious Commanders with ſeditious Accuſations, and afterwards with the Croſs, and often did too ſeverely puniſh the miſchances of the unproſperous. So that many that had the chief Command of their forces, have prevented their unjuſt ſentences with a voluntary renunciation of life and emploiment; or to defend their Dignity, ſought to extinguiſh thoſe flames which would have conſumed their private houſes, with the ruine of the Publick, and pulling down the frame of Government. So that this Ingratitude and Severity did diminiſh the infamy, and ſomewhat neceſſitate ſuch undertakings. But this infirmity never fell upon the *Roman* Commonwealth; for while it was not corrupted by too great an Empire, they were far from ſuch unworthy Jealouſies, rewarding the proſperous Valour of their Commanders with ſuch glorious Triumphs as did both ſatiate their thirſts of honour, and not force them to ſeek the ſhadow of a name by being great Oppreſſors; and alſo raiſed the hopes and ſpirits of their other Citizens to the like atchievements. Which did both increaſe their Strength and Empire, and alſo ſecure their Liberty by ſo many rivals of glory. If ever they puniſhed the unſucceſsful, it was with much humanity. Such as loſt their Armies by

Digitized by Google any

any criminal failance, had the light corrections of a pecuniary mulct, and were not forced to wash away the ignominy of an Overthrow with their own blood. Such as through Misfortune, Inadvertency, or Ignorance brought wounds upon the Commonwealth, were rather careſſed and cheared, then dealt ſeverely with; and had ſometimes their charges renewed, that they might redeem the Glory they had before loſt. He that by a raſh and indiſcreet deſire of Victory, had occaſioned that terrible Overthrow at *Canna*, when he returned home, in ſtead of a triumph, had the Conſuls and the whole Senate met him; who though they could not congratulate his Victory, did yet thank him for his valour, that he had not deſpaired of the Commonwealth. This proceeding of theirs towards their Generals was upon a good conſideration: Becauſe they judged it to be a matter of great importance, that ſuch as were intruſted with affairs of ſo great moment as managing a Battel, ſhould, when they were to make their reſolutions, have their minds free, and without ſollicitude of their Cities cenſure of their actions: and therefore they would not increaſe their difficulties; ſuppoſing that none could be gallant under the load of ſo many doubts and fears. And as *Carthage* wanted this Wiſdome of *Rome*, ſo did ſhe the Glory and Power, and was afterwards forced to ſerve her rival of Empire.

The Generals being choſen, they conceived too great dangers in the leaſt delay, and therefore made too much haſt: for they tarried not to levy ſouldiers from the Confederate Cities, nor to take up ſuch that were hardned with the country labours; but took thoſe of their own City, whom the pleaſures and abject arts of the City had made unfit for the toils of war; ſuch alſo whom the fortune of their Commonwealth and the news of the late Victory in *Sicily* had raiſed to ſo high a confidence, that they conceived it rather a journy to fetch in Slaves, then an encounter to conquer an Enemy: therefore adviſing one another to give quarter to as many of the *Greeks* as were not obſtinate to ruine, they carried along with them twenty thouſand pair of fetters to bind their Captives. And they ſeemed to be careful of nothing more, then leſt their delaies would give opportunity to the Enemy to get away out of *Africk*, and ſo defeat their hopes of ſpoil. By this great confidence in themſelves and contempt of the enemy, *(in whom nothing can be ſafely deſpiſed; for a negligent contempt will alwaies make him ſtronger)* they were precipitated to an Overthrow. For they immediately drew out into the Field, being about forty thouſand Foot, one thouſand Horſe, and two thouſand Chariots; and pitching upon an Hill not far from the Enemy, they ranged all their Forces for a Battel. *Hanno* commanded the right

Digitized by Google

right Wing, and with him was the *Sacred Band* of *Carthaginians*, the Chariots and Horſe being placed in the Front; and *Bomilcar* commanded the left.

Agathocles was glad the Enemy was ſo forward to ingage, and that their Confidence made them neglect thoſe ſafe counſels, of permitting his deſperate Army to ſpend it ſelf in its own fury, and waſte by delaies; therefore declines not the fight, but uſes his greateſt diligence in his preparations and orders of this Battel, upon which depended the fortune of *Syracuſe* and all his hopes; knowing that *Fear and Confidence have their birth in the firſt events*; and that by the iſſue of this firſt encounter he ſhould adminiſter to Fame, to preoccupate the minds of men in concluding the fortune of the whole War. He orders his Battel according to the manner of the Enemy. For having learned the temper of the two Generals, (a neceſſary part of the arts of a Leader, and of which *Annibal* afterwards made great uſe in his war in *Italy*, forming his deſigns according to the humour of him who commanded the Enemies battel) he commits the charge of his right wing to his ſon *Archagathus*, that was to ingage againſt *Bomilcar*, where an inſolent, treacherous Captain, and diffident Souldiers, promiſed the feweſt dangers, and leaſt oppoſition: and he himſelf

commands the left, to confront *Hasmo*, where were all things that are to be expected in a good Leader and resolute Souldiers. And because many of his party wanted arms, he supplies them with this invention: he causes them to take the coverings of shields, and to distend them with sticks and rods, and to stuff them out in the form of a shield, and gave them to such as wanted, and were in the rear; not as fit for use, but to elude the Enemies sight, who at a distance could not judge them other then real shields. And lest his Souldiers should be discomfited by that terrible prospect of their enemies number and horse (For *the eyes most commonly are the first that are overcome in every battel*) he had another invention to secure their minds of Victory: for he caused many Owles, which he had provided for that purpose, to be let flie in several places of the Camp; which flying round about the Army, and alighting sometimes upon the helmets, sometimes upon the shields of the Souldiers, was taken for an auspicious augury, because this kind of bird was consecrated to *Minerva* a warlike Goddess. And withal he causes it, as an interpretation of the *Omen*, to be rumoured that she had assured him of an happy success.

These devices, though they seem trifles and empty projects, yet often prove great moments

Digitized by Google

to

to wonderful ſucceſſes; they raiſing in the ſpirits of an Army great Confidence, and by that Confidence they overcome. For a Confidence that is derived from the conceived care and promiſes of Heaven, and to which a Deity gives the firſt Original, is moſt active and vigorous; becauſe a Prediction doth not onely raiſe an infallible hope, and promiſe an aſſiſtance from Heaven, but alſo doth, by thoſe hopes, tacitely admoniſh to brave reſolutions. Therefore the *Romans*, who could boaſt of more Victories then any other Nation, uſed to raiſe a Confidence in their Forces by the waies of Religion: for they never would create their Conſuls for their Expeditions, levy their Armies, begin their marches, or join in Battel, without their Auguries and Auſpicies. And without doing ſome ſuch thing never did any of their wiſe and noble Captains attempt any great action; conceiving it difficult to be ſucceſsful in it, unleſs their Souldiers did firſt apprehend that the Gods were on their part. And herein doth this Confidence differ from that which ariſeth in an Army from the conſideration of their own ſtrength, and contempt of the enemy: this commonly is pregnant with neglect of diſcipline, and too much ſecurity; but the former never diſarms it ſelf either by negligence or raſhneſs; for the Commanders, who knew the uncertainty of human affairs, and how much vanity there was in ſuch Augu-

Digitized by Google

rices,

ries, uſed them onely to heighten the rude multitude, and themſelves in the mean while were careful of taking every advantage for Victory.

Agathocles (that had omitted no part of care; for his Army was ready and prepared either to fight or chaſe, not heavy with luggage, nor greedy of ſpoil, intent upon the commands of their Leader, and obſerving his very nods, not anxious for ſafety, nor too preſumptive of Victory) ſoon found the effects of his invention to have raiſed the confidence of his Souldiers. For upon the firſt charge they ſtoutly repulſed the *Punick* Chariots upon their own Foot, and bravely receiving their Horſe forced them to flight: and when *Hanno* had brought up his Foot, doing all that the Love of his Country and Glory exacted from him (for he thought to have gotten the Victory by his alone Wing) with many wounds they ſlew him, being ſooner forſaken by Fortune then Valour: and with him fell the courage of the whole party, which were put to flight; onely the *Sacred Band* did for a while ſtoutly endeavour to make good the retreat. In the other wing *Bomilcar* did but faintly aſſault the Enemy, and ſcarce ſtood upon his own defence, not ſeeking the Victory, but the Empire of *Carthage*, which he conceived their overthrow would facilitate, and their low condition impoſe on his ſhoulders; and then he doubted not with eaſe to

Digitized by Google

ſend

ſend the *Syracuſans* out of *Africk*. Therefore as ſoon as he heard of *Hanno*'s death, he divulges it among his own party, and commands them to retreat to a neighbouring Hill: which being very diſorderly performed, the *Sacred Band* being now no longer able to ſuſtain the victorious *Greeks*, they were at laſt all totally routed, every one running the next way to *Carthage*, and caſting away their arms which they had taken for their defence, as if they feared their own aſſiſtances.

The *Sicilians* purſued them not far, but greedily returned to the rifling of the Camp; where among the other ſpoils, they found the preparations not for War, but for Victory, thoſe Fetters which had been provided for their Slavery. This increaſed the hatred of the Enemy, and heightned the joy of the Victory, by the proſpect of the dangers they had eſcaped. For *although we rather wiſh an uninterrupted flouriſhing fortune; yet ſuch doth not affect us with ſo high a ſenſe of pleaſure, as that which Providence raiſes us unto from the utmoſt dangers.* This likewiſe adminiſtred occaſion of diſcourſing and wondering at the Juſtice of that overruling power of the World, that had thus ſhewed the vanity of humane power and counſels, and bound the proud *Carthaginians* in thoſe fetters which they had provided for a deſpicable Enemy. As alſo *how quick the re-*

turns

turns of Prosperity may be after the most desperate misery. That there is no condition so low, but may have hopes, nor any so high that is without the reach of fears. The Tyrant while his forces were intire in *Sicily*, was overthrown by the *Carthaginians*: yet with the remains of that Army he beats his Conquerours. Two emulous Cities, *Carthage* and *Syracuse*, both at one time Conquerours and conquered, streightned and besieged by their mutual forces. The loss of the *Carthaginians* in this Battel was very great, but uncertain: for some say it was but one thousand, others relate three, and others six thousand. *Agathocles* bought this great Victory with but little blood, for he lost at most but two hundred, and others say but two.

The *Carthaginians* amazed at this unexpected overthrow by so weak an Enemy, referred their misfortune to the anger of their neglected Gods. They conceived *Hercules* the Patron of their City to be offended with them, because they had long disused to send the Tenths of all their Revenues to that God at *Tyre*, from whence they were extracted, which they had most religiously observed at the first Plantation of their Colony. But when their State was increased by a continued Prosperity, and their Riches grown to a vast height, their Covetousness also inlarging with their Wealth, they envied their

Digitized by Google

Gods

Gods so great a summe as their Tenths did then amount unto, and therefore sent little or nothing: either thinking their Gods would be pleased with the parsimony of their Idolaters, and not delighted in an un-employed Treasure; or else that by their present Felicity they were now able to stand by themselves without the care of their Gods. Such is the common weakness of humane minds, as to think the present fortune puts them out of a dependance on Heaven; and so great their Ingratitude, that proud with their happiness, they conceive themselves the authours of their own fortunes, and neglect the testimonies of acknowledging from whose bounty they derived their Blessings. And being thus insolent towards their Gods, they grow injurious to men, and so open all the Avenues to destruction. This *Salust* observes of his *Romans*, who in their first beginnings were Magnificent in their Devotions, Parsimonious in their Families, and Faithful to their Friends: but when their Greatness feared no rival, and their fortune had left no Enemy, first the love of Riches, then Ambition of Command taught them to neglect their Gods, and be perfidious to men, destroied their Religion, corrupted their Converse, debauched their Discipline, and at last overthrew their Commonwealth. For *Religion being the Reverence of a Deity, which is supposed able to reward and punish according to the merits*

Digitized by Google

rits of the Worshippers, is productive of good Orders. These cement the minds of men, and lay the obligations of assolid faith, which fits them for great actions, by a mutual confidence, which seldome fails of good success. But where Religion is contemned, there the people are not far from ruine, or some heavy scourge; for that being the foundation of Society, when it is once shaken by contempt, the whole fabrick cannot be stable nor lasting.

But *Religious rites that are worn out by Prosperity, when security makes men more desirous of pleasures then careful of Religion, are recovered by Adversity. And Fear, though it does not (as the Atheists say) make Gods, yet it revives their worship.* For these *Carthaginians* awakened with the clamours of their Misfortunes, sent a great summe of mony with other most precious offerings to *Hercules*, and Golden Shrines for all their other Gods at *Tyre*, thinking to buy off their fury, and corrupt their Justice. And neglecting no part of their barbarous Superstition, they endeavoured to reconcile their *Saturn* also, whom they conceived peevish likewise. For whereas of old they were used to sacrifice to him their most beautifull and hopeful Children, nobly or honestly born, they had of late put him off with common and suppositious births. Therefore by a cursed Superstition which extinguished humanity, (*such is the fury of a devilish Worship*, that

Digitized by Google

that when it is most exact it increases their Crimes) they chose two hundred Children of their most eminent Nobless for a publick Sacrifice. Besides many others that lay under some misfortune, or were affraid of some great accusations, offered their blood for their Cities safety, which were no less then three hundred. All these were consumed in a Sacrifice. For being bound and laid upon the arms of their Idol, which was a great Image of brass with his hands stretch'd downwards to the earth, the unhappy wretches rowled off, and fell into a furnace of fire that was underneath. This cruel Superstition the *Carthaginians* had brought from *Tyre*, from whence the *Jews* also derived their worship of *Moloch*.

Though they were thus busie in their Religious, yet were they not negligent in their Secular provisions: for they sent to *Amilcar* in *Sicily*, that he should speedily send them what forces he could spare; and withal they sent to him by the same Messengers the brazen beaks of *Agathocles*'s Ships, which their Admiral had brought to *Carthage*, with instructions how he should use them. *Amilcar* having received the news, commands the Messengers to suppress the misfortunes of their City, and to divulge in his own Army that *Agathocles* with his whole party were utterly lost. And some of the same men he sends into *Syracuse*

Digitized by Google

to

to move them to a surrender of the Town, which could not now hope for any succours, for *Agathocles* was totally overthrown, and his Ships taken and burnt at *Carthage*; for an evidence of which they shewed the brazen beaks which had his mark upon them, and were generally known to be his. The people through the present miseries of the Siege were the more capable of any, though false, terrours; and such as desired a change of the State were most greedy after news. These thronging about the *Punick* Messengers and place of the Treaty, had got some inkling of the news: it was soon divulged; for in a publick expectation all were impatient of any great secret, and easily believed. And the Commanders in the Town labouring to suppress, did increase the fame of it: for all discourses being forbidden were the more multiplied; and those who, if it had been lawful, would have related no more then the truth, because it was not safe, did by their ill-suppressed fears and secret whisperings make more heavy things to be conjectured.

The Governours of the Garrison suspecting some Sedition and Mutinies might be formed by these sad tidings, as soon as ever they had dismissed (which was speedily) the *Carthaginian* Envoies, forced out of the Town all the unprofitable mouths, and all whom they suspected as friends or kindred of the *Banditi*, which

Digitized by Google were

were about eight thousand. This filled the whole City with tears and confusion, and every house had something to bewail, either the supposed deaths of *Agathocles* and their friends that were with him, or else the misery of those that were now to be driven from their City and household-gods, and exposed to the cruelty of a besieging Enemy. These sad considerations forced many bitter execrations upon ambitious Tyrants and their hateful ministers. But *Amilcar*, that was a Generous Enemy, and had a greater sense of humanity then was in the breasts of *Agathocles's* agents, did safely permit those expulsed wretches to remove from the walls of their unhappy City; but did more strictly besiege the Town. And supposing that the want of so many, whom they had turned out, had weakned them as to the defence of their works, and that the terrours of his Message had abated the obstinacy of the besieged, he sent in another summons, with a tender of good conditions to *Antander* and the Officers of the Garrison, if they would quickly surrender. *Antander*, that was a Coward, and had all his Brothers Vices, but none of his Courage, was for the delivery of the Town, and covered the baseness of his spirit with the honest name of Pity to the people. But *Eurymon*, an *Aetolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left in Commission with his Brother, was of a contrary judgement, and perswaded all the rest

Digitized by Google

to hold out till they might have some better Intelligence of the state of the Tyrant. For it was a madness to form any counsels upon an information from an Enemy, who for their interest will suggest falshoods for truth, or at least render things worse then in truth they are.

Amilcar understanding how his arts had miscarried, and that the besieged were still obstinate, prepares all things to storm the Town. But in the mean while there came into the Haven of *Syracuse* two Gallies which *Agathocles* had built after his Victory, and mann'd with the stoutest and most expert Sailors, under the command of *Nearchus*, one of his Confidents, to carry the news of his success to *Sicily*. These having a lucky sail, came the fifth day in the evening near to *Syracuse*, and at break of day the next morning, crowned with garlands, singing, and wanton with all expressions of joy, they made towards the City. The *Punick* Fleet which lay in the mouth of the Haven, upon the first discovery sent out some Vessels to take them; where the flight of the one and the pursuit of the other party made so rare and strong a contest, that it called both the besiegers and besieged to be spectators; each with praiers and wishes favouring his own party, and by a vicissitude of gestures expressing their hopes and fears, terrifying and incouraging,

Digitized by Google

raging, as they imagined cauſe. Each party did their utmoſt, and the Gallies were then touching the ſhore, when the *Carthaginians* had laid hold on them; and had then carried them away, had not the *Syracuſans* that ſtood on the ſhore, with their darts, weapons and ſtones forced them back, and made them leave the jolly meſſengers to tell their lucky news. *Amilcar* ſuppoſing that ſeaſon convenient for an aſſault, when the fight at Sea and great expectations had diverted their minds, and drew many of their ſouldiers off from their guard, did immediately clap his Ladders to the Walls, and had juſt then poſſeſſed them, when diſcovered by ſome of the Watch that were going about to ſettle the Guards, they were ſtoutly incountred, and the alarm being given to the whole City, the *Carthaginians* were beaten off, and thoſe killed that had already gotten up. *Amilcar* vexed by this diſappointment ſlackens the ſiege, and ſent away five thouſand of his Army to the defence of *Carthage*, and permits *Syracuſe* for a time to pleaſe it ſelf with the joyful news. Where all the diſcourſe now was in extolling the wiſdome of *Agathocles*; and what before ſeemed to be but capricios and effects of deſpair, were now by ſucceſs ſo adorned, that they appeared the Counſels of the Gods, the onely ſafe reſolves that could be made, and the Contriver was magnified to the Heavens, that he could doe more in an Over-

throw then the Enemy in a Victory. *Succeſs is the onely Optick by which the Vulgar ſurvey and judge of Counſels.*

While theſe things were done in *Sicily*, and *Carthage* wearied her adverſe Gods with inauſpicious Sacrifices, *Agathocles* makes uſe of his Victory, which the *Punick* Pride and Perfidiouſneſs rendred more advantageous. For that Commonwealth did uſe to treat their conquered neighbours as foreiners, and their leſs potent Confederates like Subjects and Vaſſals. Which was contrary to the *Roman* prudence, who the ſame day had many people both Enemies and Citizens, and made not wars nor ſought conqueſts for Tyranny, but for their mutual ſtrength and common ſafety, and being mingled together by the ſame cuſtomes and affinity, joined alſo their Intereſts with their Wealth, and were concerned in a common fate. Thoſe Cities that obſerved not this method to Greatneſs, their Empires might be large, yet never ſtrong nor laſting, and they periſhed at laſt by their own arts. For *no poſſeſſion is durable which the Sword onely gives: but Benefits have a perpetual obligation.* So was it with *Carthage*, when the fame of their overthrow had filled *Africk* with wonder, how ſo great an Empire could receive ſo mortal and ſudden a blow by a conquered Enemy; and not finding any more obvious ſolution, then that

Digitized by Google that

that City's Name was greater then her Power, their admiration turned into a contempt of the conquered, and their former Injuries perſwaded them to an obſequiouſneſs to the fortune of the Conquerour. Therefore many Cities did readily confederate with him, and ſent him ſupplies of Proviſion and Mony for his Army. He alſo, to increaſe the terrour, and give new matter to Fame, marches within five miles of *Carthage*, and there pitching his Tents, waſted and deſtroied by fire and ſword all round about, that they might ſee the burning Villages from the walls of *Carthage*. Then reſolving to take in all the Maritime Towns that yet were tenacious of their faith to *Carthage*, and would not comply with him; he fortifies his Camp about *Tunis*, and marches to *Neapolis*, which he takes by aſſault: but, contrary to his nature, he did temporize with his Fortune, and as the reaſon of War required did uſe them gently. For *the fame of Clemency is profitable for thoſe that deſign the erecting of a new Empire.*

His next attempt was to beſiege *Adrymetus*: during which Siege he enters into Confederacy with *Elymas*, one of the *Libyan* Princes, that had forſook the Friendſhip of declining *Carthage*, and intended as little faith to his new Aſſociate; who received him, though he knew he brought more name then aſſiſtance, being

of no assured trust. The *Carthaginians* when they thought the Tyrant so far ingaged at *Adrymetus*, that he could not with honour leave that enterpize, hoped in the mean while to recover *Tunis*; and therefore sending out their Forces, they soon mastered his Camp, which was before the Town, and then applied themselves to take the Town it self. *Agathocles* hearing this, after his usual manner, being sudden in Counsels and happy in the Events, was resolved both to continue the siege at *Adrymetus* and to relieve *Tunis*. Therefore taking with him a small party, and leaving enough to make good the Siege, with great diligence and secrecy he possesses himself of an Hill which lay open to the prospect of the *Adrymetines*, and also to the besiegers of *Tunis*, and at night caused his Souldiers to make many and great fires. By this slight Stratageme, which was managed onely by the knowledge of the Country, (a necessary part of Military skill) he did deceive his Enemies at both places. For those that lay before *Tunis* thought he came with his whole Army to raise the Siege, and therefore they quitted it. And the *Adrymetines* imagined that they were more Forces gathered to strengthen the Siege, or force the Town, and upon that apprehension made an immediate surrender upon composition. After this he assaults *Thapsus*, and takes it by force; and by force, and credit of his former Victories, and

Digitized by Google

his

his other arts, he got the power of no leſs then two hundred garriſon'd places.

Having gathered the ſpoils of all that Country, he marches up into the Upper *Libya*, both to increaſe his plunder, and ſtrengthen himſelf with new confederacies. Where when he had continued ſome daies, the *Carthaginians* incouraged by the coming of ſome of their forces from *Sicily*, renew their hopes and deſigns to beſiege *Tunis*, having already recovered many of the neighbouring places that had been taken by the Enemy. But *Agathocles* having received Intelligence of it, haſtes back, and when he was not far from the Enemy, incamps himſelf to refreſh his wearied Souldiers awhile; but commanding them to make no fires, he marches away by night, and at break of day comes upon the *Africans* like a clap of thunder, while they were ſecure, diſordered, and diſperſed to forrage. This ſudden appearance fill'd them with an immoderate fear, for they were fitter for a journy then a Battel; and while they haſted to take arms, their very haſt increaſed their fears. In this confuſion he kills two thouſand of them, takes no ſmall number, and ſo broke both the Siege and their ſpirits, who had before conceived too highly of their own ſtrength by the acceſs of their Veterane Souldiers from *Sicily*. Heightned with this Succeſs he ſets upon *Elymas* the *Libyan* King his Con-

federate, who had either broken his League with him, as was not improbable, the *Libyans* being so unconstant and barbarous that they did not understand Faith or Peace; or else the Tyrant feigned that he did so, that he might have a pretence for blood and spoil, which is as likely. But the ruine of that faithless King did not a little please the *Africans*, when they saw Perfidiousness went not unpunished.

But as one blow or favour of Fortune seldome comes without another of the same kind; so the *Sicilian* affairs followed the predominant fortune in *Africk*. For *Amilcar* impatient that *Syracuse* alone, which was the onely place there left to the Tyrant, should so long stop the course of his Victories, and hinder him from those Triumphs at home which he had deserved abroad, was too eager to snatch at that which in a short time must have fallen into his hands. For having a long while by the Fleet at Sea kept all provision from the Enemy, and by the Siege wasted all that the neighbouring Country could afford; he might well have expected a sudden surrender. But being inconsiderately desirous of Glory, and deceived by the hopes of a vain Augury, he hastned his own Ruine, and his Countrie's Danger. For the *Augurs* having considered the entrails of one of the Sacrifices, tell him, "*that to morrow* "*night he should sup in* Syracuse. His desires

Digitized by Google made

made him willing to interpret it as his hopes would have it, & the great forces he commanded left no suspition of an unhappy entrance. *In so much obscurity are things future hid from the eyes of man; & it being impossible to decline the Destinies, makes the knowledge of the future altogether superfluous. That vain curiosity of seeking after it, is punish'd by being often made the instrument of delivering us over to what we fear, and would avoid.*

Amilcar therefore resolving to follow whether the Gods, as he imagined, did call, prepares all things for a storm; and to increase the terrour, designs it to be done in the Night. But *in all humane actions Danger hath too near union with that which appears good and profitable, in which it seems almost impossible for a man to escape one if he intends the other:* as it is in assaults by Night, which are no less dangerous for the invader then the invaded, when every little accident or false imagination may confound and disturb those that are led to the assault, and turn the ruine on themselves. And so it fared with *Amilcar*. For the Enemy having notice of his resolutions, sent out in the dark about three thousand Foot and four hundred Horse to lie in Ambush at a place near *Eryclus*, to disturb them in their enterprize, and appall them with those terrours which they intended to others. The *Carthaginians* that

Digitized by Google

thought

thought to surprize the Town, came on about midnight to the storm, led on by *Amilcar* himself with his life-guard; and next to him followed *Dinocrates*, that was Lieutenant-Generall of the *African* Horse. The Army was divided into two bodies, one of *Africans*, the other of the confederate *Greeks*: after these followed a mixed multitude without any order or discipline, such as were intent upon the rifling of the Town, and could be of no advantage to the taking of it. These caused a great noise and bustle, which are often the forerunners of great Overthrows: and the way being also rugged and narrow, those that were to carry the luggage and the scaling-ladders began to disturb one another in the march, and to contend for the way; so that forgetful of the Enemy, they went to fighting and knocking among themselves; which making a great noise and confusion, gave those in the Ambush notice of their Enemies approach. Who prepared for this opportunity, and having the advantage of the upper ground, fiercely assaulted them, and did easily increase their disorders, cutting off the way to some, and forcing others to fling themselves down the precipices. Every place was filled with a confused and uncertain clamour, which together with the darkness of the night made them conceive the *Syracusan* Ambuscade to be far greater then it was. The *Carthaginians* thus confoun-

Digitized by Google

confounded with their own disorders, the sudden impression of the Enemy, the ignorance and difficulties of their way, could not tell where to charge, nor whom to fight with, and in this amazement began to flie. Some of them that had not space to use their weapons, nor room to flie, were trodden under foot by their own Horse. Others fell foul upon their own party, the night not distinguishing betwixt Friend or Foe. Some were broken in pieces upon the rocks, and others were oppressed with the dying carcasses of their Friends and their own luggage: so that there were various scenes of Death, and every species of Destruction was there acted. But *Amilcar*, that had a long time with those about him made a stout resistance, and in vain, among so great confusions, incited others to the like, was at last himself taken by the Enemy, and carried Prisoner into the Town, his whole Army being thus routed and beaten. And *Amilcar* had been happy howsoever, though in misery, if he had fallen under the same fortune with his Souldiers. But he outlived his Dignity, that with the greater Dishonour he might perish in *Syracuse*. So uncertain and fallacious are all humane designs, that when *Amilcar* thought he was invited by the Gods to compleat the conquest of *Sicily*, and consummate that Glory to which no *Carthaginian* had hitherto made so near an approach, he should at last conclude

conclude his Life and Victories in Slavery, and die at the pleasure of his besieged Enemies.

The observing *Greeks* had all their wonder raised and excused in the consideration of this overthrow. For they could not sufficiently admire the strange uncertainties of humane Greatness, and sudden changes of conditions. Who may not fear or hope things different from the present, and contrary to what are expected, when *Agathocles*, who was a stout and subtle Commander, and had a very good Army at the Battel of *Himera*, was not onely defeated, but also lost the choicest of all his Forces; and now those that were besieged, a party of those very men that were then beaten, did not onely defeat the Army of the *Carthaginians* by an ordinary stratageme, and an advantage of ground, worsting an army of an hundred and twenty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, but also took their General prisoner? This made them attest that observation, *That there are many Vanities in War; That the battel is not to the strong, nor doth Victory accompany the prudence of designs: when a weak accident, a contemptible circumstance, is able to ruine the best-formed projects, and overthrow the firmest resolutions*; and that there was some such power, notwithstanding the impudent cavils and short discourses of Atheistical spirits, that may be justly termed the *Lord of Hosts*.

Digitized by Google

The

The *Syracuſans* having gotten this Victory, more by the darkneſs of the night and advantage of the place then by their own Valour, uſed it as barbarouſly as became the ſlaves of an inhumane Tyrant; who beſides the other Miſeries that he brings upon his Vaſſals, doth alſo impreſs his Vices as brands of their Slavery upon their Souls; his power and their abject minds inclining them to the moſt abominable flattery of Imitation. For they moſt inhumanely abuſed their noble Priſoner: not conſidering the Dignity or Vertues of the Perſon, who through the whole War had done nothing unbecoming a Generous Enemy: they deſpiſed the majeſty of his former Command and Succeſs; forgot humane frailty, how ſoon it falls from the greateſt honours to the loweſt miſeries; and, which challenges more pity in humane breaſts, that what by many labours & tedious vertues hath been attained, may be loſt, and periſh in one moment. *Paulus Æmilius*, when he had overthrown and taken *Perſeus* the great King of *Macedonia*, wept over his Priſoner, and gave reverence even to the captived *Majeſty*, and brought his Children to behold the ſpectacle of humane frailty, not to triumph in it, with this command, that "*They ſhould learn from thence what Reverence was due to the Ruling Power of the World, that was able to doe ſuch great things.*" But the ſouls of ſo baſe a Rabble as were the Tyrant's

Tyrant's Officers were not capable of ſo vertuous conſiderations, therefore they expoſed *Amilcar* to all the indignities and injuries that an half-ſtarved multitude would inflict, or the grief for their ſlain Friends could invent, upbraiding him with his falſe hopes in the Augury, and objecting "*that the Gods were faithfull to his ruine, that had brought him to ſup* "*that night in* Syracuſe. They led him bound through the whole City as the mockery of Fortune, and vexing him with horrid torments, they at laſt killed him; and cutting off his head, ſent it with the news to *Agathocles* into *Africk*. Thus fell *Amilcar*, who was before the Terrour of *Sicily*, but now the ſcorn of *Syracuſe*; more miſerable by the hands he fell into, then by the cauſe and manner.

This rout had ſo broken and ſcattered the *Carthaginian* Army, that they could ſcarce meet the next day; and when they did, were as far from Union. Their Overthrow had made them factious, and (as it is the faſhion of the Vulgar) each one was ready to charge another with the common Miſery, and object their own Crimes to anothers Malice. This was increaſed by the loſs of their General, and they could not agree of a Succeſſor to him. The *Africans* would have the chief command given to one of their own City, that was next in dignity to their late Commander: but the

Digitized by Google confe-

confederate *Greeks* with the Exiles contended for *Dinocrates* to be supreme. And when neither party would recede from their designed choice, they followed their several Leaders, and so divided.

The *Agrigentines* considering this state of affairs in *Sicily*, were perswaded that Fortune presented them with a fit opportunity of obtaining the Empire of that Island. The *Carthaginians* they conceived were so broken, that all they could doe, was to defend their own City from *Agathocles*'s invasion: *Dinocrates* with his Exiles would be contemptible to that power which they should raise: The *Syracusans* being half-famish'd, would bend all their cares rather for food then dominion; or if they should be yet ambitious to retain their Grandeur, yet their preparations for it would be so slow, that they could make no considerable attempt before they had rooted their power, and setled their dominion. The speedy growth of which their own arts promised, and the pretext which they would use for their design, which was, *to set all the Cities in* Sicily *at Liberty*: for the hate of Forein yoke, the Tyranny of *Agathocles*, the innate thirst of Freedome which was in the *Greekish* blood, would easily make their pretext be credited and complied with.

Digitized by Google

Swoln

Swoln with these hopes the *Agrigentines* make one of their own Citizens, *Xenodicus*, General, and furnishing him with a sufficient Army send him forth to execute their counsels. He first marches to *Gela*, where being received by some whom he had before practised with, he enters the Town by night, and becoming master of it, he there gathers up a large summe of Mony, increases his Forces, and partly by force, partly by perswasions, draws the *Geloans* into a Confederacy with the *Agrigentines*. The fame of this plausible design being bruited abroad, all the Cities that were not suppressed by a greater force then their own, greedily embraced this Overture of Liberty, and joined with the Undertakers. The *Ennei* and the *Erbessites* being assisted by *Xenodicus* drove out the *African* Garrisons. Then he hastens to deliver the *Camarinei* and *Leontini* from the incursions of the *Syracusans*, who, like thieves broke out of prison, being delivered from the Siege, were more fierce and bloody, wasting and pillaging all their Neighbours, and had taken *Exetla*. Thither the *Agrigentine* speeds, drives the *Syracusans* within their own walls, besieges and takes *Exetla*, and restores it to its own Democratical Government. The *Syracusans* being thus hindred from forraging by land, took advantage of the *Punick* negligence, whose Fleet seemed to be stupified with the reiterated losses of their Commonwealth,

Digitized by Google

monwealth, and so were more negligent in their guards: So that the enemy got in by Sea some Vessels laden with Corn that did for a time supply their great wants. In the mean while the Army of the League, to keep up their growing fame, marches up and down, and delivers several Towns both from the *Syracusan* and *Carthaginian* yoke. Thus while *Carthage* and the Tyrant contended for the Empire of *Sicily*, and wasted each other with repeated fights, there arises a third party to take the spoils of both. But the miseries of the Island were still increased by the pretenders to her Preservation, and could not fear or suffer much more troubles in Slavery, then what now she must endure for the vain hopes of that Liberty which the next strong Pretender would ravish from her.

While these impetuous designs for Empire and Liberty wasted and almost drowned *Sicily* in blood and tears, the Tyrant's success in *Africk* made him gay and jolly: and when he had received the head of *Amilcar*, (who living was his greatest terrour) he made use of it to terrifie his own Citizens; for riding so near their Camp as that he might be heard and seen, he shews them the remains of their slain General, and makes up the story of his death with all the dreadful passages that might augment their fears. The *Africans* with tears paid

their respects to his unfortunate faith and valour, and bowed down to worship that head which was their Enemies scorn; bewailing in the loss of him the unhappiness of *Carthage*. But the other mischiefs of War which followed did dry up the tears too soon for this their Noble Captain.

This strange success both in *Sicily* and *Africk* made the *Syracusan* Potter more proud, so as to perswade himself that he stood above the reach of Danger. But the great Ruler of humane affairs deals sometimes with Tyrants as he hath done with the Lions of *Mesopotamia*, whose Fierceness would make that Country desolate and the waies unpassable, had not Nature provided a little sort of Flies, that about the heat of day flying into the eyes of those beasts, either force them into Marishes and Fenny places there to preserve their sight from those enemies, whom smalness makes invincible; or else exasperating their revenge to kill them, while they are wounding, make them tear out their own eyes with their claws, and so starve for want of sight and food. So Providence restrains the fury, and curbs the Pride of such Monsters as Tyrants are, by some abject means and inconsiderable circumstances, forming their Ruine from unsuspected beginnings. Drunkenness and Feasts sometimes revenge the oppressed world, & overthrow

Digitized by Google

that

that power which is unresistible by Arms. Thus *Agathocles* was almost ruined, when his Enemies were most weak, by an unexpected Mutiny of his own Army, occasioned by a slight accident which gave beginning to it. And *many times small beginnings have great effects, men being more willing to follow a motion then to lead it.* The Tyrant jolly in his Success and the obsequiousness of Fortune, invites all his Officers to a Supper; where one of them, named *Lyciscus*, being drunk, began to rail at him, and upbraided him with his notorious Crimes, uttering such speeches that were not safe in a Tyrant's ears. *Whose Maximes are to hate even the liberty of speech, and to suspect those who speak either boldly or gravely, for underminers of Tyranny.* *Agathocles* suppressed his Anger, reserving it to grow more heavy in a fit season of Revenge; at the present he seemed to reverence the man whom he had often proved very valiant, and therefore imputing his Passion to his distemper, replies onely by jeasts and contempt, the soonest way to blot out reproaches. But his Son *Archagathus* (who thought his Father's fortune needed no Patience, and because the drunken speeches had so much of truth that they left too sharp a remembrance) with much fury returns the like language mixed with Threatnings. This heat outlasted the Feast, and every one departs towards his Tent. But *Archagathus* following

and pressing upon *Lyciscus*, he did at last upbraid him also of Incest with his Fathers Wife *Alcia*. Upon which *Archagathus*'s blood boiling as high in choler to have his Crimes divulged, as it did before in Lust, and as he was prompt to doe any baseness, so he was equally insolent, and unwilling to hear of it, he snatches a javelin from one of the Guard, and runs *Lyciscus* quite through the body; who falling down dead was by his Friends conveyed to his Tent. Whither as soon as it was morning were gathered all his acquaintance, and many of the Officers of the Army; who had a respect for him, not onely for his Valour, but also for the bluntness of his discourse, which did seem to have in it a shew of a free Soul. These resenting the injury done to their Friend, and measuring their own danger by what he had suffered, fill the whole Camp with Sedition; which was more inflamed by all the great Officers, who feared the Tyrants wrath for some slight offences. So that at last every one armed themselves to punish the incestuous Murderer, and to appease the angry ghost of their Friend with his enemy's blood; threatning that if *Agathocles* would not deliver him up to Justice, they would satisfie their fury with his head. Then did their anger invent new causes of quarrel, and clamoured out for their arrears; and to shew their intentions for a real satisfaction, they chose them new

Digitized by Google

Leaders,

Leaders, ſeized upon all the Forts and Gates of *Tunis*, and ſet a guard upon the Tyrant and his Son. Thus, as *it is the nature of the Multitude either baſely to ſerve, or proudly to domineer*, they had in a moment caſt off all that fear and reverence of the Tyrant, which ſo many terrours and ſo long a Conduct had habituated them unto.

Agathocles all this while, in the conſcience of many Wickedneſſes which every mouth now ſpoke of, did not dare to appear, to reſtrain thoſe that were moſt fierce, or reconcile the doubtful, or animate any of his Confidents; but fearful and ſluggiſh, watched when this humour would ſpend it ſelf. But the *Carthaginians*, that had intelligence of the Mutiny, laboured to advantage themſelves by it, before the love of Obedience or the knowledge of the neceſſity thereof ſhould return: and therefore ſent ſome ſecret inſtruments to practice them to a Revolt, promiſing to pay all their arrears, and ample rewards to the Agitators in it, ſo that many of the Officers undertook the employment. *Agathocles* ſtartled at theſe practices, thought his life and fortunes were now at the utmoſt verge, and fearing if he were delivered up to his Enemies, he muſt with ignominy and torture end his daies; he conceived it better to commit himſelf to the fury of his own Army; and ſince his Life was gone, he

would onely provide for the decency of his Death, and withal try whether his old arts of dissembling would still prove lucky. Onely the doubt was how he should proceed: whether he should go and oppose to their Fury the Majesty of a Commander, which might force a reverence, when they saw a Person of so great experience, and that had for a long time been the chief fountain of severity and reward; or whether he should go by such a way of fear and trembling as would conceal all his arts of dissembling and speaking, and so be more powerful to mitigate the incensed Rabble. For *it is the custome of the Vulgar to be changed by sudden and unusual appearances, and be as prone to pity as they were immoderate in anger.* This last way was thought most expedient; and therefore laying aside all his Robes and ensigns of Power, squallid and deformed with fear, with a countenance composed to tears, yet full of Pride and Anger, he comes into the midst of the Souldiers, who were presently moved with the miserable habit of him whom before they envied. He speaks to this purpose.

"*Had the Gods exacted my life as a Sacri-*
"*fice for my Armies safety, or destin'd me to*
"*fall in executing revenge on the Enemies of*
" Syracuse, *their Decrees had been but the an-*
"*swer of my Praiers, who have already devo-*
"*ted my life to yours and my Country's service.*

Digitized by Google "*But*

"*But to be sold by those whom I have preser-*
"*ved in Liberty and made Lords of* Africk,
"*that my death should be their ignominy whom*
"*I have led and taught the waies of glory,*
"*gives me just cause to complain of their seve-*
"*rity. It is not that I fear death, for I need*
"*no other witnesses then your selves how often*
"*I have provoked it for your emolument. Nor*
"*am I frighted to become the mockery of that*
"*Enemy on whose Ruines I have already raised*
"*such pillars of Glory as cannot be wasted by*
"*the maliguity of Time, or undermined by the*
"*dishonour of my Grave. But your eternal*
"*infamy that have sold your Captain, and the*
"*Slavery of our Commonwealth, which will*
"*lose a most industrious and faithful instru-*
"*ment of her preservation, are the greatest*
"*terrours my destruction brings. Besides the*
"*dismal effects that it will have even upon Ver-*
"*tue it self, and be destructive to the society*
"*of following generations: for my blood spilt*
"*in this mutiny will confirm the licentious in-*
"*solence against Magistracy, and discourage*
"*the pious zeal of Children for their Fathers*
"*honour. It is true indeed, the too much Pie-*
"*ty of my Son hath raised this Tumult by more*
"*duty then consideration. For dangerous e-*
"*vents do follow even honest actions, if Pru-*
"*dence do not moderate the course of Justice.*
"*But his greatest crime was, that he anticipa-*
"*ted your fury, and prevented your revenge*

Digitized by Google

"of your own injuries. For though the Maje-
"sty of a Prince and the honour of a Magi-
"strate were but empty names and vain shadows,
"yet it is your concernment that He which is
"your Commander should not be esteemed the
"worst of men, as that drunken Railer would
"have rendred me; because that Society is
"near a dismal dissolution, whose Chief or
"Prince may be safely defamed. But it is in
"vain to complain, since the Gods have decreed
"the end of this glorious Enterprize by my
"death. For who will dare to lead you to fire
"the Gates of Carthage, and to find your ar-
"rears in ransacking her Riches, when you
"have applauded the dishonour, and conspired
"the betraying of your most faithful Servant?
"Or what need the Carthaginians fear your
"arms, when by these base arts (for by better
"they cannot) they can ruine your best Officers,
"and make you bind their yokes upon your
"own necks? I desire to live no longer to see
"your Infamy, nor will I experience the Cru-
"elty or Clemency of any other, but free and
"satisfied with my own integrity and glory will
"anticipate all danger. Onely I desire you,
"that the short time your cruel and faithless
"Enemy will suffer you to survive me,
"you will remember Me among the brave Ex-
"amples, and put me in the number of those
"that by an honourable end have escaped the
"publick Miseries.

Digitized by Google Having

Having ended his Speech, he drew out his Sword, and put it to his breaſt, as if he had intended to have killed himſelf: which was acted with ſo much life, (for he was an excellent Mimick) that the rude Multitude, unacquainted with the arts of Tyrants, and their too much fear of death, thought it was real. Therefore with loud acclamations, and ſtriking their ſpears upon their ſhields, which was the way whereby the *Greek* Souldiers did uſe to expreſs their deſires, they cried out "*that he* "*ſhould forbear the ruine of himſelf and them*, "*that they did acquit him of all accuſations*; and with a ſhout begged and gave pardon at once, deſiring him to re-aſſume his Royal habiliments: which while he puts on he weeps, and thanks the changeable Multitude, that ſo ſoon was differing from it ſelf, and that before being nothing but Fury, did now become all Patience. For *every Multitude is moveable, eſpecially that of Souldiers; ſo that the remedies of Sedition are as eaſie as the beginnings of it.* The Tyrants Speech having recovered ſo much pity as ſerved him for Authority, and ſeeing the return of Obedience, and that the Souldiers were now fit to receive commands, he preſently turns the remainder of their fury upon the Enemy, who were expecting the iſſue of their practices, and the Revolt of the whole Army, of which they had received ſome already. Whom when they ſaw marching out, they conceived

conceived to be such as had forsaken the Tyrant, and were coming over to them; for the speed of *Agathocles* had prevented any news of the change in the City: and when he was come near them, he tells his Souldiers, "*that now* "*they should expiate their seditious fury, and* "*blot out their treason with the blood of the* "*Authours, and turn their crime to their ho-* "*nour.* Then sounding a charge, he chaces the *Africans* to their own tents; who being deceived with this surprize, made no resistance, but left many of their fellows dead upon the place, as testimonies of the *Sicilians* Repentance.

Though *Agathocles* had thus dexterously escaped this great danger, and revenged himself on the *Africans*, without any other loss then of two hundred Authours of the Sedition, that had revolted to the Enemy; yet was his hatred still alive of the whole Army, that had put him to such affrightments: and could he have been safe, he would have contrived their universal ruine. So implacable are the Spirits of Tyrants. Yet notwithstanding he intends to divide them, whom the contemplation of their number often incites to Sedition, and makes them scorn to ask that pay which they see they can force. Therefore leaving the rest of the Army with his Son, to secure *Tunis* and the acquisitions thereabout; he takes with him eight

Digitized by Google thousand

thousand Foot and four hundred Horse, and follows the *Carthaginian* Forces, who were gone into *Numidia* to suppress some Insurrections among their revolting Subjects. Where though by their speed they had reduced many to Obedience, and by moderating their commands recovered the Affections of others; yet did they not dare to give battel to the *Greeks*, but incamped themselves on an Hill defensible by nature, and incompassed about with Rivers of a difficult passage. Then they commanded their *Numidians* that were in arms for them, after their manner of fighting, still to follow the *Sicilians*, and by many sudden assaults to retard their march. But *Agathocles* sending out his Slingers and Archers to encounter with them, leads his other Forces forward to find the Enemy; who being certified of his approach, sent out a party to hinder his passage at the River, where they slew many of his men. But the *Sicilians*, though less in number, yet greater in resolution, and heightned with many Victories, forced their passage, and stoutly maintained the fight with the *Carthaginians*.

In the mean time those *Numidians* that were on either side, forbore the fight, being of an unsteady Faith, like their sandy soil, neither united among themselves, nor constant adherers unto others; and standing like Spectators

Digitized by Google

of

of the Combate, and as ſo many Vultures watching to prey upon the falling Carcaſſes, they determined to rifle the Camp and luggage of which party ſoever was worſted. At laſt the day inclining to *Agathocles*, he purſued the *Africans* to their Camp, which being well fortified, they bravely defended, and returned more wounds then they did receive: yet was the Tyrant obſtinate to force them within their defences, hoping to compleat the Victory ſo happily begun. The *Numidians* ſeeing the *Carthaginians* ſo well preſerving their Camp, though they loſt the field, immediately turn their hopes upon *Agathocles*'s Tents; where killing thoſe few that were left for the guard of them, they took all the Priſoners and ſpoil, and, like birds of prey, when they had got the ſpoil, made no delay, but haſted away. The Tyrant hearing of this, drew off from the *Carthaginians* to ſuccour his own Camp; but their haſte and the approaching Night delivered them from his revenge, and they eſcaped with the greateſt part of the ſpoil. *Agathocles* therefore to ſupply the loſs his Army had ſuſtained by the *Numidians*, did equally divide among the Souldiers his own booties, leſt they ſhould mutiny. In this Battel were taken a thouſand *Greeks*, whereof five hundred were *Syracuſans*, who in hatred of the Tyrant had ſerved the *Carthaginians*. Theſe being all impriſoned in a Garriſon, fearing the Cruelty of

Digitized by Google

the

the Tyrant, by night ſet upon the guards; but being worſted, retired into a ſtrong place, which they intended to defend till they might have good Articles. *Agathocles* hearing of it, draws up his whole Army againſt them, whom the fear of preſent death made forgetful of the Perfidiouſneſs of the Tyrant, and ſo they yielded up themſelves upon his Oath that he would ſpare their Lives: which they had no ſooner done, but he kills them every man.

Notwithſtanding all theſe Overthrows, the *Carthaginians* were not broken in their Courage and Reſolution for Empire; (which is alwaies the guiſe of great ſpirits, not to vary with their fortunes) and therefore did ſo little repent of their unhappily-defended Liberty, that they choſe rather to be overcome then not to attempt at Victory. A temper they retained as long as they had a City. For in their laſt War with the *Romans*, before ever they would yield to quit their City, they pulled down their Houſes for timber to build a Navy; and when they wanted Iron and Braſs, they melted their Gold and Silver for the ſame uſes; and their Matrons cut off their Hair, to make cordage for their Engines. This undaunted reſolution, their ſending forth freſh Armies, their warineſs of engaging, the hardineſs and experience which by their continual Conflicts they had acquired, the difficulties of this laſt

Skirmiſh,

Skirmish, and the much blood the Victory cost him, made the Tyrant see how unequal such a petit Prince as he, and a single City that was blocked up, and could afford him no support for so vast designs, were to so mighty a Commonwealth, that seemed inexhaustible in her Treasures, and store of men, and that at this rate they could longer hold out with their Overthrows, then he with his Victories: for his Forces were worn out with the Successes, and there could be little trust in the Souldiers he gathered from the conquered people. He therefore casts about to get those succours somewhere else that he could not expect from home. Among those whom he thought on, none appeared so fit for his design as *Ophellas*, who having been one of the Commanders of *Alexander*, in the partage of that Empire had seised upon *Cyrene* in *Libya*, and had made himself Prince thereof; with which it was known that he was not contented, and therefore had many projects to enlarge his Dominion, and make himself eminent.

This man *Agathocles* judged fittest for his purpose, and easiest to be imposed upon. For *Ambition infatuates, and while it presents the lustre of Greatness, dazles the Reason, that it cannot see the dangers and difficulties in the acquisition, nor look into the practices of those that tempt them.* To him therefore the Tyrant sent

sent *Ortho* a *Syracusan* as Ambassadour, to cajole him into this war, and as a reward of his dangers makes profer of all the acquisitions he had already made, or should hereafter make by their joint Forces in *Africk*. For he conceived *Sicily* an Empire large enough for his ambition, who modestly thought too great a Command was dangerous, and in great possessions men made themselves too obnoxious to the strokes of Fortune. He had made this war upon the Continent onely to divert the *Africans* from the Island, and to blot out the ignominy of his overthrow at *Himera*, not to settle a Kingdome there, which was divided by so vast a Sea from his principality of *Syracuse*. If hereafter his desires should be enlarged with his Fortunes, he had *Italy* nearer him, a place fitter for his designs, and where he had better pretensions, and there he should exercise his valour, and enlarge his Empire; but all *Africk* he would leave to *Ophellas*, as fittest for the King of *Cyrene*.

This wrought the desired effect on *Ophellas*, who having been long waiting for such an opportunity, greedily swallowed the bait. For *men are more desirous of acquiring that which is anothers, then careful to preserve their own.* This made him not reflect upon the party with whom he had to doe: but as one of the lesser birds of prey, who are eager to seize on that which

which their nature incites them to, but do not look unto a greater fowl which is above them, and seeks to swallow them with their spoil; so he onely considering the Empire of *Carthage*, did not mind the infamous Perfidy of *Agathocles*, but hastily concludes a League with him, and provides for the Expedition. To this end he sends Mony and Officers to *Athens*, from whence he had married a Wife of the stock of the famous *Miltiades*, that by the favour of her Friends they might levy Souldiers there, and gather up some other un-employed *Grecians*; who were easily perswaded to this enterprize, for they found *Greece* a most troublesome place, wasted and harrassed by the several pretensions and wars of *Alexander's* Commanders, and therefore hoped for a more safe and easie Warfare with richer spoils in *Africk*, and promised to themselves the pillage of *Carthage*. With an Army made up of such *Ophellas* marches from *Cyrene* with above ten thousand foot, six hundred horse, and a hundred chariots that were furnished with three hundred men; and besides those that were lifted there followed above ten thousand with their Wives and Children in hope of booty and spoil, as if they went to plant Colonies, not fight Battels in *Africk*. These travelling through the dry and sandy Desarts of *Libya*, where they were often in great distress both of water and victuals, and often hurt by those Serpents which are na-

Digitized by Google

tural

tural to that soil, at the end of two months came to the Camp of *Agathocles*, tired and half famished.

The Tyrant went out to meet *Ophellas*; whom he entertains at first with prodigal caresses, sends him convenient and seasonable Presents, often entertains him at Feasts, in tenderness perswades him to rest and refresh his Army before he brought them to action, and agrees with him in all the Counsels concerning the management of their Enterprize. One through Fraud, the other through Facility, mutually grant and receive every thing. *Ophellas* adopts *Archagathus* for his heir to his hoped Kingdome; and *Agathocles* suppresses for a while his bloody and greedy disposition; which was impatient in society of Command. Yet all the while he had an eye upon his new Guest; and having intelligence about him, when he understood that *Ophellas* was most secure, and that the greatest part of his Forces were gone forth to forage, he suddenly calls together his own Souldiers, and to them declares, that "*he had found by experience, how impossible it* "*was that there should be Faith and Concord* "*betwixt two Commanders in chief: for O-* "phellas, *whom he had called to their assis-* "*tance, and invited to a Confederacy in that* "*rich War, had notwithstanding ingrateful* "*practices to cut them and him off; and of*

"this he was assured by the Intelligence he kept "about him: that therefore they should advise "what course was fittest for their safety. They were soon exasperated by this false accusation, and desired him to lead them out to revenge: Which he presently did, and found *Ophellas*, suspecting no such usage, without any strength about him, and therefore easily mastered, though he made a stout resistance, till he was killed. When he was dispatched, *Agathocles* forced and perswaded the rest to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves to his conduct, promising them that they should find better hopes under his Command then was to be conceived from *Ophellas*: and so wrought over his whole Army. Of which such as were unfit for Service (together with the Spoils of *Ophellas*) he ships for *Syracuse*: but they were all lost by Shipwreck; so that the Tyrant enjoyed not any benefit of his Perfidiousness, either of what he had sent away or what he kept: for it was not long after that those men whom he had deprived of a Captain, did revenge the injury in the blood of his Son.

At the very time that *Agathocles* was unfaithful to *Ophellas*, as if some perfidious influence did then work upon all corrupted minds, did *Bomilcar* attempt the like upon his own Citizens. Who though he was suspected to have a long time intended the Tyranny, yet

Digitized by Google

was

was still suffered to continue in the City; either a more powerful Enemy and greater Fears employing all their thoughts, and so caused a neglect of his practices: or else *Carthage*, as all Commonwealths, was too slow in their determinations, too wary in their proceedings, and much respectful of their greatest Citizens; which make Conspiracies against them more secure in the management, then such as are formed against Princes. He had often sought an opportunity to satisfie his Ambition. But *great Crimes are full of Fears, Delaies, and frequent change of Counsels; and that which in the projection seems ful of its reward, when it comes to be acted looks big with danger.* Therefore he had long deferred his Enterprize. But now, when the City was dejected by the increase of their Enemies in the coming of *Ophellas*, and the most eminent of the Nobles were employed in *Numidia* to keep their subjects quiet; he thought the affrighted Multitude would tamely submit to him; and that now there was no reason to delay those counsels, which are never praised till they be acted.

Therefore when *Agathocles* was buried in the murder of *Ophellas*, he began his enterprize. And it was for the happiness of either State that these Crimes were acted in the same juncture of time, and that each were ignorant of the others attempts and troubles. For had

Agathocles known the practices of *Bomilcar*, he might have easily wrought him, upon the failure of his attempts, rather to have given up the City into his hands, then trusted himself to the mercy of his incensed Citizens. And had the *Carthaginians* been acquainted with the *Syracusan's* perfidious dealing with *Ophellas*; it had been more possible for them to have drawn that injured Army to their side, then for *Agathocles*, that had provoked them with an unparallel'd Baseness. But the Wickedness and danger of either Act hated the light, required secrecy, and fastned the attentions of the Actors from considering what was done by others.

Bomilcar therefore not seeking for aid abroad, nor mingling Counsels with *Agathocles*, who he might suspect would be as faithless as himself, but relying on his own strength, which was five hundred of the baser Citizens, that were easily allured with the hopes of Spoil, and a thousand Mercenaries that he had gotten, proclaims himself *King*. Then marching from the place where they at first rendezvous'd, which was in that part of *Carthage* which was called the *New City*, he divided his party into five bodies, and sent them by several avenues into the *Piazza*, commanding them to kill all they found in the streets, that so he might affright the people, and make his design easier.

Digitized by Google

easier. For *if the Multitude be not affrighted, they become terrible; but when they begin to fear, they grow weak to contempt.* And accordingly the Citizens were at first affrighted, supposing this Tumult was caused by the Enemy, to whom the City had been betraied; and so fled, and hid themselves. But being at last acquainted with the truth, Hatred and Anger (the two strongest and most sudden Passions) that one of their own City should increase their Misery, and attempt their Bondage, while they were resisting a forein Tyrant, expelled their fears, and armed all the Youth to revenge. Who gathering together in several bodies, led by the wisest Citizens, who would not suffer the consent and first indignation of so great a multitude to languish, set upon the Tyrant in the *Piazza*, whither he was then arrived. He being bravely assaulted by these, and there being also from the Houses round about the Market-place poured all the instruments of death and anger that Women and Children could manage, upon his party; so many of them were killed or wounded, that he was forced to quit his ground, and draw off to the place from whence he at first set forth. But his flight emboldened and increased his Enemies, and in his retreat through the narrow Lanes many more of his men were much wounded from the Houses; and when he came to the place he intended, they closely besieged him.

him: *Bomilcar* seeing his design broke, parles with his besiegers, and with as much Baseness as he had begun with Villany, he puts an end to his ambitious hopes, yielding himself up upon Articles of Impunity.

All the rest that had been his Instruments were pardoned, their Ministery to his Wickedness being imputed to their Weakness: and it was not safe now to draw much blood within their walls, when such rivers were spilt without. Onely the Tyrant himself must by his death seal the security of the Commonwealth, and satisfie the publick hatred. For *hatred that is raised by danger out-lasts the fear; nor doth the conquered cease to be hated till he cease to be.* Therefore notwithstanding the Publick faith for his impunity, he was most cruelly tortured, and afterwards crucified. He shewed himself consentaneous in life and death; for from the Cross, as from a Throne, his Imperious and Proud spirit declaimed against the Ingratitude and Cruelty of the *Carthaginians*: Objecting to them how they murdered *Hanno*, whom they had falsely accused with the affectation of Tyranny; banished *Gisco*, whose Innocency their Wickedness could not endure; basely passed private sentences of death against his Uncle *Amilcar*, who wisely endeavoured to make *Agathocles* rather their Friend then their Enemy: and in this fury, because he could not avenge

Digitized by Google

venge the Crimes he objected, he breathed out his restless soul. Thus *Conspiracies, if they do not ruine, yet defame the Magistrate; and when they thrive not against them, are supposed to come from them as inventions to cover their Avarice in seizing upon the Estates of others, or to hide their inhumane thirst of blood.* This was the end of *Bomilcar*, who following the same designs with *Agathocles*, had yet a different issue; for the Cross rewarded his Wickedness, when Power and Greatness was the prize of the others. Not to refer this difference either to the Justice of Heaven, by conceiving one to be more wicked than the other, and that he which thrived was less impious then he that perished in the undertakings, for this would injure that immaculate Justice and Purity of Heaven: nor to ascribe it to the pity of Providence, who would not afflict the miserable *Carthaginians*, that laboured under the fury of a most bloody forein Enemy, with those greater mischiefs that follow a change of Government, and of necessity flow from a Domestick Tyranny. But we may in reason assign this cause, that the different events did arise from those divers Occasions which either took for his Enterprize. The *Syracusan* found a corrupted State to work upon, (for in none but such do Tyrants arise;) but the *African* did not: For whereas a State is corrupted either through a long Prosperity, or variety of

Factions in it, both which make the People decline from their ancient Constitutions; Carthage at this time was delivered from both those springs of Corruption; because being pressed with a tedious and cruel War, they were all united against the Common Enemy, and being to fight for their preservation, they could not attend the satisfaction of those Lusts which are most peculant against the established Laws. Which *Bomilcar*'s impotent ambition not considering, nailed him to the Cross, in stead of fixing him on a Throne.

About this time all the Family of *Alexander* the Great was quite extinguished. His Brother *Aridæus* with his Wife *Eurydice* were killed by his Mother *Olympias*: She after was besieged, and by Famine forced to deliver up her self to *Cassander*, was by him murdered. *Roxane* his Wife, with her Son the younger *Alexander*, fell by the same hand; and so also *Hercules* his Son by *Barsine*. His Sister *Cleopatra* was also put to death by the practices of *Antigonus*. So that there remained no Heir unto that great Troubler of the world. And he that had shed so much blood for an empty Name, had nothing but that Name left. His Commanders, who as long as any of these did survive were contented with the portions onely of that Empire, did after their death assume the Name and Majesty of Kings. Which on *Agatho-*

Digitized by Google

Agathocles hearing, the Potter also, who thought himself equal to them in Exploits and Conquests, and not inferiour in Dominion, would also be styled *King*, and wear a Crown as the Ensign of *Majesty*, which he had never before used but as a Priest. But Royalty, which is the reward of Heroick Vertues, may be the Usurpation, yet can never be the Propriety of a Tyrant: the Ensigns may be worn by a vitious bloody Villain, but the Majesty never adorns but a Lawful Just Prince. For *Crowns do not create, but elicite that Reverence which the Vertues of the wearer first formed in the minds of men: without which unpress Diadems do but provoke the indignation of the beholders, and upbraid, not honour, the baseness of the Usurper.*

The assumption of the Royal Title made no alteration in the nature of *Agathocles*, but in his next enterprize he exceeded his former Inhumanity. For intending to reduce *Utica* that had revolted from him, he suddenly lies down before it, and surprizes three hundred of the Citizens that had emploied themselves in the neighbouring Country. By these men he offers oblivion and pardon, if they would return to their Obedience. The Citizens that were sensible of his actions in *Africk*, that his Faith was to be measured by his Lust; that no greater misery could happen to them then what

Digitized by Google

what they should run into if they did expect his Mercy; that they should perish if they were conquered, and they must do so if they first rendred; that there was no choice to be made but this, whether they should lose their blood with scorn and contumely, or spend it in a gallant defence and revenge; did therefore refuse all Peace with him. When he saw they would not be deluded by false hopes, he endeavours to reduce them by their affections, and would sack the Town by a force upon Nature. For making Engines of wood, on them he hangs the surprized Citizens, under the shelter of whom he sets his own Souldiers, and so brings them close to the Wall: so that whatsoever arms the besieged did direct to kill their Enemies, must first wound their dearest Friends. The *Uticenses* were at first stupified by this inhumane art, and in pity durst not shoot those arrows in their own defence, which would spill the blood of those they desired to save. But the Enemy pressing hard upon them, they preferred Liberty to such a dangerous compassion; and desiring the Gods to impute the Cruelty to their barbarous Enemy, they for a long time stoutly defended themselves. But their adverse Fates suffered them not long to survive their miserable Friends. For the Town was taken by storm; which the Tyrant soon fills with the blood and carcasses of the defendants: some he killed in the heat of blood, many he hanged,

Digitized by Google

he

he dragged out and murdered those that fled to the Altars of the Gods for refuge, vainly thinking that he might have some Religion that had devested himself of all Humanity. Thus Tyrants manage their Warres not so much against particular Persons and Cities, as against the Nature of man. Nor did *Agathocles* think it enough to overcome the *Utiocenses*, unless he had also made them pollute their just arms in the blood of their Friends and Kindred. The *Romans* bewailed and cursed those Civil Wars which did expose the Father's life to the sword of the Son, and grieved that the Law of Warre did forbid that punishment which the law of Nature required: (He fell with glory like a Sacrifice for the publick safety, that slew himself when he knew he had killed his Brother) Nor did they more abhorre those vices in their own Citizens, then they did hate them, and scorn to make use of them in their Enemies. For they conceived that no Victory, where Justice and Vertue were not preserved entire. And by their just practices even to their Foes, they overcame those Cities, and subdued those Spirits, which no force of arms could ever have subjected: and one Generous Example of Vertue hath flung open those Gates, which no humane power could have pulled down. Thus *Camillus* received the *Falisci* to obedience; *Fabritius* removed *Pyrrhus* from *Italy*; and *Scipio's* Continency reconciled all *Spain* to the

Digitized by Google

Roman

Roman Empire. Men more willingly submit to those whom, being owners of so great Vertues, they esteem it an impiety to overcome.

Lib. III.

Gathocles having by these bloody arts, nefarious practices, and force of arms, brought to his obedience almost all *Africa*, and left the Enemy little or nothing but their own City, he neglects the attempting of that, and abuses the obsequiousness of his Fortune in more inconsiderable designs; infatuated in his counsels, and not considering that the Members do more easily follow the Head, then on the contrary the Head the Members: that if *Carthage* had been taken, the inferiour Cities must necessarily have followed her fortune; but that being left free and intire, she might provide for the cure of her wounds, and watch opportunities for the recovery of her Empire. But either the difficulties of assaulting *Carthage*, or the necessities of *Syracuse*, did divert him from such an enterprize, and follicite him to a return into *Sicily*,

Digitized by Google

Sicily, where the *Free League* had confined his Tyranny within the walls of his own City. For *Xenodicus* had hitherto prospered, and restored the Democratical power to many Cities, and raised up the confident hopes of all the *Sicilians* to live by their own Laws, which is the true foundation of Liberty.

To stop therefore this current of freedome, *Agathocles* hastens into *Sicily* with two thousand Souldiers, leaving the command of his affairs on the Continent to his Son *Archagathus*. At his landing he was entertained with the news of a Victory which his Captains *Leptines* and *Demophilus*, with eight thousand two hundred foot and a thousand two hundred horse, had gotten on *Xenodicus*, who had lost a thousand five hundred of his men, and was forced to shelter himself within the walls of *Agrigentum*. The Tyrant makes use of this Victory, and marches against those Cities that had shaken off his yoke, and with the credit of the former Victory reduces *Himera*, *Selinus* and *Therma*. Then drawing forth before *Centoripa* by night, he was in hope to have surprized it through the practices he had with some of the Citizens: but the plot being discovered, he was forced by the better part of the City, which were not polluted with such infamous Counsels, to retreat with the loss of five hundred of his men. Then being sollicited by some perfi-

dious

dious inhabitants of *Apollonia* to come and take their City, before he could reach thither the Conspiratours were discovered and apprehended, and he was disappointed for the first day of his expectation. But the next day, not to depart without some attempt, he assaults the Town, and not without exceeding loss of men he takes it; where killing most of the *Apolloniates*, he plundered the whole City, and left it as a monument of his Cruelty.

But the desires of Liberty, though overwhelmed with all these Ruines, were like fires less carefully extinguished, which revive with a greater flame. For the universal hatred of the Tyrant and thirst for Liberty moved *Dinocrates* to be an asserter of the *Free League*; and he appeared like another Rock to dash in pieces the violent successes, and to be a remora to the Tyrant's Security. To *Dinocrates* therefore flocked all such as either desired to be free men, or hated the Tyrant; which were so many, as *Dinocrates*'s Army consisted of twenty thousand foot & fifteen hundred horse, all Veterane Souldiers, and Actors in the late troubles of *Sicily*, accustomed to the discipline & difficulties of Warre, or hardned with the miseries of Banishment. With these he pitches his Camp in an open field, and offers battel to the Tyrant: but he knowing himself too weak to engage, retreats to *Syracuse*, still followed by his daring

Digitized by Google

ning Enemy; who cuts off his rear, and wins upon him without loss of blood. This was a great obstruction to *Agathocles*'s designs: for *wars are managed much by fame, and he that retreats is supposed to fly.*

Together with this check to his affairs in the Island, his fortune wholly declines on the Continent, and that success which had so importunately followed him there, did as suddenly leave him. Where his Army continually wasted both in strength and courage: *Archagathus* either failing in his Father's arts, and the vertues of a Leader; (For *an Army is to be valued at the rate of the Commander, whom they will contemn if he be weak, and ignorant of his charge, and so neglect their duty, and become insolent and contumacious*) or oppressed with the sins and fates of his Sire; the punishment due to wicked Parents being entailed by the Divine Vengeance on their hateful Children. He soon found his Insolencies undermined that had been built upon his Father's fortune. His first enterprizes were auspicious, but the issue was full of despair. For having sent out a party under the conduct of *Eumachus*, they had mastered many Cities in the upper *Africk* with much slaughter, they had demolished their Walls, captivated and sold the Inhabitants, burnt their Houses, and wasted their Fields, and so proud with Victory and loaden

Digitized by Google

den with Spoils returned to *Tunis*. But being sent out again, the second Expedition proved not so fortunate: for going beyond the bounds of their former Conquests, and setting upon the City *Miltine*, they were from thence driven with exceeding loss. Then turning themselves against the *Pithecusans*, (a kind of people in *Africk* that have their names from the Apes, whom they worship with the same reverence as the *Ægyptians* do their Dogs,) they took one of their strongest Cities, and the rest yielded. But the *Libyans* awakened with the continual clamours of their wasted Neighbours, gathered into a great body, and forced them with more terrour and less spoil then they had before, to retire towards *Archagathus*, that was now amazed with Ruines on every side.

For the *Carthaginians* by their frequent encounters arriving to more experience and greater hardiness, and by their many losses learning safer counsels, had wholly changed their arts and customes of fights. They were now more wary in their engagements, forbore forward onsets, and used the arts of a Veterane Army. For *many wars that are too violent in their first fury, vanish by delaies: and Armies that cannot charge their Enemies are consumed by their own wants, and waste in their own fury.* They likewise resolved no more to venture their whole force in one body, but divided them into three

Digitized by Google several

several parties; whereof one was to march by the Sea-coast, the second was appointed to secure the In-land Towns, and the third was employed in the upper *Libya*. By this counsel they secured their City from the dishonour and molestation of a Siege. For the Enemy would not dare to lie down before it, when so many parties were unconquered in the Field. Nor did they fear a storming of it, wherein there was such a multitude, their walls and fortifications very strong, and the Sea affording much protection by washing the foundations of her rampires. Besides, by sending out these Parties they should ease that scarcity of Provision which began to afflict them; all the Country about being wasted by the Warre, and the number of people almost infinite that fled thither for safety from the Cruelty of the *Sicilians*. Their Credit also, which is of great moment in all Wars, would be kept up by having so many Armies in the Field. And lastly, which was of most advantage, it would necessitate their Enemies to divide into so many small Parties, as would be less considerable and easily baffled. All which Ends they did attain. For their Stores were proportionable to their lesser number: Their Confederates now revered that power which could not be spent by so repeated Losses, and were incouraged in their Fidelity, when they saw so powerful a defence ready to protect their faith; so that many who

before were afraid to own any correspondence with them, now freely administred large Succours. And *Archagathus*, as they expected, to keep up his Fathers fame, was forced to break his Army into as many pieces as might obviate the enterprizes of his Enemies: one whereof was to secure the Sea-coast; another was commanded by *Æschrion*; and He himself, leaving a guard at *Tunis*, marched with a third.

Thus all *Africk* was filled with arms, and now raised in expectation of a speedy issue. *Hanno*, that commanded the *Punick* Forces in the In-land expedition, meets with *Æschrion*, and drawing him into an Ambuscade routs him, and kills him with four thousand foot and two hundred horse; those that escaped fled five hundred furlongs, till they came to *Archagathus*. *Himilcon*, that was sent into the upper *Libya*, waits at a certain City for *Eumachus*, who was returning with his Army heavy with plunder. The *Greeks* no sooner came near the *Carthaginian*, but they offered him battel. *Himilcon* refuses not, but knowing their prosperous greedines had made them proud and unwary, intends to assault them by a stratageme; which proved as happy in the event as it had been in the project. For leaving part of his Army in the Town, with orders to sally forth when he began to flie, and

to

to charge the Enemy in the rear when they purſued him, with the other part he marches forth, and fights the *Greeks* near their own Camp; whence after a ſmall oppoſition he flies, as if he were worſted. *Enmachus*, as confident of the Victory, (though he could ſee little reaſon for the Enemies ſo ſpeedy flight, and therefore might have ſuſpected ſome unuſual arts) without any order follows them. Which being ſeen by that party which was left in the Town, they immediately iſſued forth with a great noiſe, by that giving notice to *Himilcon* to ſtop his flight; and ſo terrified the *Sicilians*, that they being charged on all ſides, and daunted with the ſurprize, preſently fled. But not being able to recover their Camp, the way to it being intercepted by the *Africans*, they drew up on a neighbouring Hill, where there was no water: where their Enemies beſieging them, they were partly by thirſt and partly by the ſword almoſt all conſumed, ſo that of eight thouſand foot, ſcarce thirty, and of eight hundred horſe, not forty eſcaped to carry the ſad news to *Archagathus*, a Perſon too inſolent in his Proſperity with any equality of mind to bear theſe great Loſſes. He having this intelligence, draws back all his forces to *Tunis*, gathers up the relicks of the beaten Parties, recalls the other that he had ſent out, and fortifies himſelf, till his Father ſhould come to relieve him, to whom he had ſent this afflicting news.

These great Losses were more dreadful in the consequences; for most of the Confederates that were the friends of the *Syracusans* Fortune, not of his Cause, soon withdrew themselves, and fled farther from his ruines; onely some few that did more fear the *Punick* Revenge then affect the Friendship of the *Greeks*, stai'd till they might reconcile themselves to the *Carthaginians* by a more seasonable and treacherous Defection. The Enemy also drew up all their forces close to his Camp, both to heighten his necessities and increase his fears. *Himilcon* besieged him so as he could not forage abroad; and *Hannibar*, that had the charge of the Sea-coast, came up so close, that he cut off all hopes of relief by Sea. So that the Army not being able to break out, nor having Provisions to sustain them within, raged among themselves, and languished by their own force through want of action. Terrour, Famine and Sedition filled the whole Camp; and the baffled Souldiers, as is usual in such distresses, referred their Miseries not to their own Baseness, but to the Vices and Weakness of their Commander. His former Cruelty made him suspected, that he betraied those Souldiers to the Enemies sword, who would have formerly bathed theirs in his blood for the murder of *Lysicus*. *Afflicted spirits are capable of any jealousie.* Though it is probable he had no other guilt then the want of a Commander's

Digitized by Google Vertues.

Vertues. For *by the defects and Vices of a Ruler the most prosperous condition of a Society may be overthrown; as by his Vertues the most oppressed may be easily raised: and there is nothing either good or bad in a Commonwealth, which may not be altered or alleviated by the Vertues of the Prince.*

Agathocles hearing the desperate condition of his Army in *Africk*, prepares to hasten thither, to apply some Remedies, and therefore commends his affairs of *Sicily*, which *Dinocrates*'s good conduct of the *Free League* had extremely disturbed, to the care and fortune of *Leptines*. And having gotten as many Souldiers as he could aboard seventeen Vessels, he waited for an opportunity to get out of the Haven, that was then blocked up by thirty *Carthaginian* Ships: which was made more prosperous and easie then he could have hoped; for at the same time there had gotten into the Haven by night eighteen Ships which he had hired of the *Tuscans*. Their fortunate coming raised the Tyrant's courage to a resolution of fighting the Enemy. To perform it he commands the *Tuscans* to continue in the Haven, till he had drawn the *Africans* in pursuit after him. So making out with full Sails, the *Carthaginians* made up towards him, and the *Tuscans* after them. *Agathocles*, when he saw the *Tuscans* near the Enemy, turns back

his Vessels upon them also: which unexpected assault both behind and before did so break their spirits, that they thought not of fighting, but of flight; five of their Ships being immediately taken, and the Admiral also ready to be boarded: who to prevent the ignominy and misery of Captivity, presently killed himself. An act more rash then stout. For *it is the temper of a brave Soul alwaies to hope*: which if he had done, he had escaped, as did his Ship, which a brisk wind brought off from the Enemy without any farther loss.

This success at Sea made the passage to *Africk* safe, opened the Trade of *Syracuse*, which was very sensible of her wants, and so raised the Tyrants hopes in his Fortune, that he designs another attempt upon his Enemies at Land. Therefore he commands *Leptines* forth to wast and forage about all the Regions of those Cities that were at fewd with him, but especially of *Agrigentum*; where he was informed that the late defeat given to *Xenodicus* had broken no less his credit then his force; his Adversity having heightned the clamours of an opposite Faction against him, which the envy of his Prosperity had first formed. If *Leptines* therefore could draw him forth to fight, the Tyrant promised himself an assured Victory over a factious Enemy. For *where the Souldiers distrust their General, and he likewise is displeased*

Digitized by Google

ſed with them, his Orders are diſputed, and their Obedience given according to their own counſels: Every one will be ready to command and adviſe, and none to execute. It is the mutual confidence which begets reſolution in all parties, and drams ſucceſs along with it. *Leptines* acts according to his inſtructions, and by fire and ſword waſting the Regions of *Agrigentum*, forces into the Town many ſad informations where the Enemy was. *Xenodicus*, whom his former fortune and the preſent *odium* had made more wary, did forbear any attempts to reſtrain the fury of the provoking Enemy, nor would he lead his forces to another trial of fortune with thoſe that were ſo lately their Conquerours, preferring ſafe counſels with Reaſon, to raſh which onely Chance could make proſperous. He would not hazard the Safety and Liberty of his City for the ſpoil of the Country, nor gratifie his Enemies ſo far as to ſatisfie their expectation by accepting of a Battel. For he conſidered that though the Number of his men were not inferiour to the Enemy, yet their Courage was, and the Softneſs of men bred on Stalls and Shops, not to be compared with the hardineſs and experience of ſuch that were acquainted with the toils of War. But being preſſed on by the Factions of his own Citizens, and continual reproaches of Baſeneſs and Treachery from his own Army, *which when it hath laid aſide the modeſty of*

Digitized by Google

diſci-

disciplina, is extremely impatient of not fighting, he was forced to be the companion of other men's Rashness; and therefore leading out his Army, he did engage the Enemy, and was as soon routed. For those that were so fierce before the encounter, were fearful in the dangers of it, and being more fit for a Sedition then for a defence of their City, they soon fled, leaving behind them of their fellow-Citizens five hundred foot and fifty horse. *Xenodicus* with the loss of this Battel lost his Country also; for being continually assaulted with the accusations of his Enemies, he was forced to leave his own City, and by a voluntary exile planted himself at *Gela*.

These two Victories could not yet make the Tyrant secure, but he designs a more base and bloody upon his own Vassals, who, he doubted in his absence might open their gates to receive in *Dinocrates*. Thus *wicked men always fear, and expect what they are conscious they do deserve: and though some Tyrants may be safe for a while from the punishment of their Crimes, yet none can ever be secure.* To provide therefore against such practices, he projects how he may find out and murder those who were most averse to his Government. In order whereunto he appoints a publick Sacrifice and Feast, in pretence of a Religious gratitude for those two Victories, that so the publick Jol-

Digitized by Google lity

lity and excess of Wine might take off that guard which the Vassals of a Tyrant should observe and set upon their words; and provokes them to a greater liberty of speech. By this means he should more indear the Rabble unto him, who commonly receive such publick Feasts as the base price of their Slavery, and esteem such Rejoicings among the blessings of Peace, and as the adequate wages for their many years of Bondage. And besides, he should discover the minds of such as had freer souls, and their inclinations towards him. His Preparations were answerable to his Design, and the whole City being resolved into Mirth, to provoke them to a greater freedome of speech, himself laies aside his Imperial Vestments, plaies the part of a Mimick, and was profuse in Drollery, fearing some of his company, and acting their most ridiculous postures. So that he did tickle the Vulgar rout as much as a Stage-play, or the tricks of Jugglers. And it was usual with him at other times, to come into the publick Conventions and Assemblies without any guard, and there to provoke the laughter of the people by trivial and plebeian jests, and by mocking and personating some of those that were about him. But at this time he made use of all his arts; and the more to excite the petulancy of others, he fell a jesting himself. For taking up in his hands a golden Goblet, he told the people that he

Digitized by Google

he left not off his Potter's trade till he found the way of making such Pots as those. Glorying thus in his low beginnings, because it boasted the subtilties of him that had raised himself from such an abject depth to so great an height; or to shew how patient he would be of another's liberty in scoffing him, that did make sport with his own Infamy; or, which is most likely, it was in him as in *all that have passed beyond shame, Ignominy is their last pleasure.* So that he was never moved nor did blush at that which was the fortune of his birth, when he gloried in the wickedness of his life. For when he lay at the Siege of a great Town, the Souldiers in the Garrison (as it is usual to stimulate their adversaries with reproaches, and the Vulgar wits are pleased with petulant scoffs to vex those whom they cannot strike) would call *Agathocles Potter, and Kilneman,* and ask him "*when his trade would furnish him to* "*pay his Souldiers.* He would unmoved reply, that "*he would doe it as soon as he had taken* "*their Town.* With such pastime did he entertain his guests.

These tricks of the Tyrant were variously interpreted, according to the humours of the Spectatours. Some that were of a credulous and slavish temper took them for the evidences of a Popular spirit, and a Civil habit of mind, and comparing him with *Dionysius*, he seemed more

Digitized by Google

more like a just and lawful Prince (whose Right and Innocency is his guard, and who uses the ministry of men for Majesty, not Security) then a Tyrant, to whom Distrust is his greatest and most singular defence. For *Dionysius* was so afraid of giving any opportunity to the people's hate for revenge, that he suffered the hair of his head & beard to grow to an indecent length, because he did not dare to trust his throat to the razour of a Barber; and when it came to be troublesome, he singed it off with a Candle. But this his Successour did seem to them to have more noble arts and freer waies to secure himself and his Empire. Others, who remembred his former Cruelty and Pride, and were acquainted with the arts of Tyrants, did look upon these present practices as very ominous. For *Usurpers never seek to please the people but while they are binding the yoke upon their necks; nor are they ever kind but when they are about to kill.* And as the Tragical Poets never bring the Gods on the Stage, but to make some dismal Catastrophe; so Princes when they descend so low as to practise upon the people by becoming their mockery, some horrid scene is to be acted by them. They esteemed not his appearing in publick without a Guard to be any effect of a Vertuous management of his Power, but rather an insolent triumph over their Liberty, that it might appear he had so debased their spirits, as that they did not

Digitized by Google

not dare to assault a naked Tyrant. By these and the like discourses every one discovered his judgement, which *Agathocles* either by his own Observation gathered, or by the information of his Spies, persons whose baseness was esteemed beneath caution, whom he had dispersed about among the people, to provoke and watch others to their Ruine. And the number of those in whom he found any foot-steps left of their dying Liberty was about five hundred: whom together with some other of the most eminent *Syracusans* he invites to another Feast; and by his Mercenaries murthers them, mingling their blood with the wine. Besides the deliverance from so many supposed Enemies, and the seisure of their Wealth, the Tyrant supposed he had gotten another advantage, that by this means he had raised such a Distrust and Jealousie among the Citizens, (which is one of the most especial Arts of Tyrants) that they would not dare to trust one another with any secret practice against him, who had such diligent Observers, and so exact Informers, that would betray the most simple speeches of a Feast and Mirth to their inhumane Master. By this appears the curse of Heaven upon that miserable people who are subject to an *Usurping Tyrant*; who, *conscious of the greatness of his own Crimes, and that no condition can alleviate the publick hatred towards him, will no less in his joyful then sad times practise*

Digitized by Google

Elise their Miseries. To secure that condition which is prosperous as well as to prevent an approaching Ruine, still habituates him to murder the innocent and oppress the miserable; either his Pride or his Fear driving him to inhumane courses.

After this bloody Feast the Tyrant together with his Son *Heraclidas* hastens to *Africk*, where he finds his Army half famished, all filled with confusion and despair, and capable of nothing but fears. To raise up their Spirits, and relieve their Wants, he would have led them out to some action; but there was no way either for Victory or Plenty, but by first breaking the *Punick* Forces which had block'd up all passes, in such sure defences as were impossible for so profligated an Army to overcome. He therefore applies himself to all those arts which might tempt the Enemy from their Fortifications to give him Battel in the Field, and presently them with many advantages. But the *Carthaginians* that abounded with whatsoever was necessary, chearful in the fresh remembrance of their late Victories, and faithful among themselves, would not hazard a Battel, to overcome that Enemy who, pressed by wants and weakned with Seditions, would fall by their delaies. *Agathocles* when he saw all his attempts made the scorn of his Enemies, that the credit of his Arms was now fallen into contempt, that

Victuals

Victuals did more and more fail in his Camp; to recover his glory and recall the ſpirits of his Souldiers, he was reſolved to try raſh counſels, ſince good advices ſucceeded not, and he would force the Enemy in their Trenches. Therefore ſick with delay, and impatient of hope, he leads out his Army, which conſiſted of twelve thouſand *Greeks*, as many *Gauls* and *Tuſcans*, ten thouſand *Libyans*, who were of no ſetled faith to either party, and with theſe he aſſaults the *Carthaginian* Camp. Though their impatience for their wants, and their dejected ſpirits were not to be allaied or raiſed by any charms of Courage, nor would admit any formall ſpeech; yet did he, as briefly as he could, while he drew them out, deſire them to "*Remember their former and later Victories; that they now ſtood upon the theatre of their Glory, and trampled upon the aſhes and bones of the* Punick *Armies; therefore now they ſhould go with courage, and for ever cut off that faithleſs and conquered Enemy, who did confeſs themſelves their vaſſals, by not daring to look upon them in an open Field. They were now not ſo much to think of a Battel, as to execute revenge; and that by taking theſe deſpicable Priſoners within their own Tents, they did ſcale the Walls of* Carthage, *put an end to that tedious War, and reap the harveſt of all their toils.* With theſe ſick hopes he led them on to the aſſault, which the *Carthagi-*

Digitized by Google

nians

nians were prepared to receive; and having the advantages of ground, of their works, and the excess in number, did easily repulse the *Sicilians*, who a long time maintained their Charge and followed their attempt, but all in vain. *Agathocles* seeing no hopes, drew off his starved Legions to their own Tents, but was pursued by the *Carthaginians*, who spent all their fury upon the *Greeks* and the other Strangers, but spared the *Libyans*, that by such an indulgence they might be invited to a revolt. They continued the execution as long as the day and their anger lasted, having killed three thousand of the Enemy; the rest with sorrow and fear got safe to their Camp, where they found the same wants they left, but made more intolerable by their wounds and shame. The loss of this day and the terrours of the following night made the Tyrant quite desperate, and drove him out of *Africk*.

The night following this Battel was unquietly spent in either Camp. The *Africans* proud of the return of their Fortune gave themselves up to Feasts and Sacrifices, and with Songs and triumphant noises made the Valleys and neighbouring Woods to resound their mirth. And, not to provoke their Gods, in an inhumane gratitude they offered up the choicest and comeliest of their Prisoners in a sacrifice to them. While these abominable Victimes were consuming

ming on the Altar, a ſtrong wind ſuddenly ariſes, and carries the flame to the hangings of their holy Tent, which ſtood next to the Altar; from thence the flame ſpread it ſelf to the Generall's Tent, and afterwards catch'd hold of thoſe Tents of the Officers that were neareſt to it. This unexpected and violent chance fill'd all with confuſion; and many of the Souldiers who endeavoured to quench the flame, or to remove their arms and luggage, were conſumed by the fire: for the wind growing higher, had ſpread it upon the Souldiers huts, which being made of dry earth and thatched with reed, were ſoon on a flame, ſo that it became ſtronger then the Army could maſter, and many were intercepted in it. Heaven as it were exacting revenge for their Cruelty to the poor Captives, making them periſh in thoſe impious flames which they had kindled for others. Thoſe that had gotten out to the ſides of the Camp, and from the fire, were incountred with another fear, not ſo real, but as full of danger. For the *Libyans* that were of *Agathoclis*'s party, being reſolved to leave him with his fortune; and were about five thouſand, had juſt at the time that the fire began, forſaken the Camp at *Tunis*, and were coming to ſurrender themſelves to the *Carthaginians*. Theſe being diſcovered by the Scouts and Guards, were conceived to be the whole Army of the Enemy coming to aſſault their Camp by night, and in this

confuſion

consistent by the Fire, which their present fears made them imagine he might kindle. This news being spread about the whole Camp, every one thought the Enemy had gotten into the Trenches, and that they were all betraied; so that no way of safety was presented unto them, but onely flight: which being done without any order or respect had to their Commanders, was so confused, that some for haste broke their necks down the hill upon which their Camp was pitch'd; others were angry at such as stood in their way, and through the darkness of the night not able to discover whether they were Friends or Foes, fell furiously upon another. In this darkness, amazement and confusion, there were many slain, and more wounded; and the number of those that perished was accounted five thousand. They that had escaped all dangers but their fears, got into Carthage, and filled the whole City with rumour, reporting the Army to be quite broken; and mingling some truth with their affrighted apprehensions, made all things desperate, yet very uncertain. Therefore they set open their Gates to receive their flying Souldiers, yet carefully watching lest the Enemy should fall in with the Town with them. But the day discovered their errours, and mitigated their fears, though it increased their grief and jealousies, when they saw the dead bodies of their Friends, and the ashes of their Tents and goods; they could not conceive it a chance, or refer it

to Providence, but doubted whether it were not some open Enemy or some false Citizen that had occasioned so much Ruine, it look'd so like a designed Mischief.

On the other side, in the *Sicilian* Camp the remembrance of the overthrow had composed all to an horrid sorrow, they had weak and faint fires, a silence like to that of Tombs and Charnel-houses, their few words were low, and without any comfort, the groans of the wounded were the loudest noise, their thoughts various and distracted, walking about their Trenches like men that could not sleep, rather then as such that desired to watch. Their very quiet was dreadful, and presently were they deluded with as vain fears as those that had affrighted the Enemy. For when the revolting *Libyans* did not dare to venture further in the surrendring of themselves to the *Carthaginians*, because they saw the Fire, and heard that confused noise in their Camp, they returned back towards their former quarters in the *Sicilian* Camp. But their motion being discovered by the Centinels and Scouts, who by reason of the darkness of the night could not discern what they were, the terrour of the past day's overthrow suggested that they were the victorious *Carthaginians* coming to give a Camisade to their Army. This Intelligence was carried to the Tyrant, and the Alarm suddenly passed over

Digitized by Google

the

the whole Camp. Every one was distracted what course to take. Some were to make good the Works; others were for drawing forth: the most still contradicted the rest, without prescribing what else was to be done. And as it happens in unhappy and disturbed counsels, those things seemed best which they had neither time nor conveniency to act; the continual messages of the affrighted Scouts did disturb their resolutions, and every unusual accident altered and confounded their determinations. By this time the flame of the *Carthaginian* Tents grew more conspicuous, and the exceeding noise which their fears made conveyed them also to the *Sicilian* Camp. Who then thought the Enemy was so near, that it was in vain to deliberate, but all were set upon flight. So impetuously rushing out of their Tents, they leaped over their Trenches which way soever their blind fear did direct them: the noise which their own haste made did perswade them it was the coming on of the Enemies into the Camp, and this doubled their haste, noise and fears. And each one laying hold upon another, either to force them out of the way, or to help themselves forward by their neighbours speed, were conceived as apprehending enemies, and presently were killed by their own fellows. Some were so madded with their fears, that they knew not which way they ran, nor which to chuse, and driving upon the returning *Libyans*, fell to

fight with one another as with the Foe. This hurry continued all the night, all which time their terrours and despairs admitted no deliberation or counsel; till the day discovered the mockery of Fortune, and that they had lost four thousand men in this confusion.

The Occurrences of this night did upbraid the weakness of an arm of flesh, when two such potent Armies were routed and driven out of their strengths by a vain and empty Fear, and put to flie when none did pursue; and when either party did fear, they were mutually feared. Prudence doth sometimes alleviate the strokes of Fortune, and a wise management may by good Discipline so confirm the minds of an Army, that premeditated designs and projects of terrour may become weak and contemptible even to the surprized. But a coincidence of so many various accidents in such a juncture of time neither can the weak sight of Humanity foresee, nor possibly prevent.

The next day, though the fight had shown the *Greeks* the vanity of their fears, yet no less confusion remained on their spirits; they were ashamed of their frights, and unwilling to return to the place of their terrour and ignominy, they walked up and down single and heavy, their eyes cast down, weary of company, and afraid to be alone, yet fuller of heaviness then shame.

shame. *Agathocles* perceived this horrour, and thought it no less then madness to oppose such dejected persons to the *Carthaginians* that were insolent with their Victory, the memory of which did with the day restore them fully from the affrightments of the night. Besides, he found all the *Libyans* and his confederate *Africans* had left his hungry Tents and declining Fortune. In those that were left he could have no confidence, all being concerned either in the murder of *Lyciscus* or *Ophellas*; therefore could not hope that either among themselves, much less with him, they could have any *agreement*, which *is the onely comfort and alleviation to the conquered*. These things considered, the Tyrant was resolved to temporize with his Fortune, and as he fled from the dangers of *Sicily* to the coasts of *Africk*, so now he would save himself in the Island from the dangers of the Continent. But then occurred to his thoughts the impossibility of withdrawing his Army with him. He had neither time nor conveniency of Vessels for so great a charge, nor was the Sea clearer from the triumphs of the Enemy then was the Land. For they had recruited their Navy, and recovered the empire of the Ocean, so that without their good leave he could neither stay nor flie. To make Peace with them in such a low condition of his affairs, was the greater difficulty; for they were so elevated with their present success, that they knew not

how to temper their Felicity by reasonable Conditions to the Authour of their Troubles, and had already threatned such examples of Severity to the first Invaders of *Africk*, as should terrifie the future Ages from their imitation.

Wracked and perplexed with these affrighting considerations, not once entertaining the generous thoughts, that *Adversities are born with greater glory then deserted*; *For such are the comforts of unhappy Vertues and innocent Souls*; he at last resolved to shift for himself, and to carry onely with him his Son *Heraclidas* and some few privado's, ministers of his Lusts, and leave the rest to the malignity of their Destinies and the Cruelty of *Carthage*. He pitied not his eldest Son *Archagathus*; for his haughty soul and wicked attempt upon his Fathers Bed, made the old Tyrant jealous lest if he were preserved longer, he might extend his furious Lust to his Throne, and practise upon his Life. For knowing him to be his own Son, he concluded him no less Ambitious and Perfidious then he was Lustful. Which shews the Inquietude of Tyrants, who when they have murdered all Vertue in others, and by many Crimes secured themselves from the hatred of strangers, yet want not jealousies of their own Children, and are affrighted with dangers from their own bowels; whose good and bad fame are equally dangerous to their cursed Parents. For

Digitized by Google

if

if by honeſt arts they reconcile the affections of the people, they are then eſteemed too popular to live under a Tyranny. And the delaies which their Father's lives interpoſe to their conceived hopes, are judged too importunate to be born by ſuch as are able to cut them off. If the evil diſpoſitions of the Sire are traduced to the Soul of the Son, then do they load the aged Tyrant with more publick hatred, or terrifie him with fears of practiſing that on him which he hath done on others. And thus was it with *Agathocles*, who would at once rid himſelf of his Son and Fears.

Archagathus, that knew his Father's nature, and that *all Tyrants blot out every impreſs of Nature, having no affections but for themſelves*, was very watchful over his actions, and having ſome ſuſpitions of the deſign, he communicates his Jealouſies to ſome Captains of the Army, and conſpires to intercept his flight. The prodigious baſeneſs of the act eaſily raiſed indignation enough to hinder it. That a General ſhould betray his Army, and ſurrender them up to a provoked Enemy, was a Crime not to be paralleld. *Archagathus* thought the injuſtice done to him more full of Cruelty, that he who had ventured his life for his Father's Empire, had been a partner in all his Flights and Miſeries, ſhould now be left alone to the Danger, whileſt his Brother of leſſer merits muſt be

the onely companion of Safety. Therefore more angry that he had not his part in the Villany then at the Villany it self, he watched to hinder it, desiring to be saved or perish together. So that neither of these Monsters had any natural affection either of a Father or a Son, but either would have provided for his own Safety, though by the blood and infamy of the other. When the Tyrant was ready to take shipping, his Son gives Intelligence thereof to his complices; who meeting together came all to the Tyrant, "*Upbraided him of his base purposes, and charged him not to stir from the place he was in.*" Then lest he should first practise upon the Souldiers, and perswade them any thing to their own ruine, (which is no hard task on an unwary multitude) they presently published and aggravated the treachery of the Tyrant, that he would have left his Army without any hopes of succour, order, or means for their safety; whom he had tempted to follow his capricices, and satisfie his thirst of power, through such numerous Dangers, and objected to so bloody an Enemy, he would now barbarously fell, to redeem himself, neglecting the lives and liberties of those whose carcasses, if dead, he was bound to have buried.

The Souldiers when they heard this singular example of Wickedness, and considered the consequences, That none of them should re-

turn

turn to his Wife and Children, Country and Friends, but like an headless trunk, having no Commander, without life or name, in a strange Land must be the mockery of their Enemies, were amazed, and trembled no less then if the Camp had been taken, and that they were now under the yoke. But then Indignation called them from that Stupidity, and in a great fury they hasted to seize upon the Tyrant, whom they presently clap'd in chains. Then being without any Commander, not knowing whom to chuse or whom to trust, when they had found such Perfidiousness in him whom they had obliged by so long and dangerous an obedience, they were distracted with exceeding fears. For *a Multitude without a Governour is rash, fearful, and mad.* These were increased by the approaching night, and by a strange and uncertain report, that the Enemy were coming on to assault the Camp. The care of the present Danger renewed the memory of the former, and they were frighted almost to madness, and (as it useth to be in such Confusions) every one hastily snatches up his arms, and without any order marches out of the Camp distractedly, leaving their defences, cursing and railing upon "*their faithless Leader, the perfidious* Agathocles. The Guard that was upon the Tyrant, no less amazed then the rest, hearing him named, and imagining that the multitude did call upon them to bring their Prisoner forth, did

Digitized by Google

imme-

immediately lead him into the midst of the Army loaden with chains. This sudden spectacle did strangely affect the minds of the multitude. Some were moved with Pity and Reverence of him who had so long commanded them. [For *great employments leave a lustre even upon that person that hath left them, and Majesty doth accompany those in their distresses whom Fortune hath before proposed to admiration. And sometimes, if they be vertuous persons, they, like the Sun, appear greatest at their setting: and the refraction of a moist cloud of tears doth serve to enlarge their Greatness.* *Marius*'s glory in his former commands could not be stifled in the Dungeon at *Misturnæ*, but once more overcame the *Cimbrian* Slave that was appointed to be his Executioner. *Mithridates*'s imprisonment had not so disarmed him, but that the authority of his looks and the memory of his former Empire did affright the *Gaul* that was sent to murder him; till by his own hands he confirmed the trembling Slave to execute the wicked commands of his perfidious Son. Though *Agathocles* had no Vertues that deserved Pity, yet his fortunes did excite a Reverence.] Others moved with the fear of the Enemy, and hope of his Conduct, joined with the rest, and together cried out, that they should take off his Chains, and set him free.

This unexpected mercy and deliverance, together

Digitized by Google

gether with the miserable sight of the Army's fears and confusions, would have wrought a commiseration in any breast that had had the least sense of humanity, to have provided for the common safety, or obliged to the same fate. But *Perfidiousness acknowledges no Merits, and every Tyrant doth abjure Gratitude and Justice.* Therefore *Agathocles* was no sooner out of his Chains, but while the Army was yet in confusion, and none at leisure to observe him, he makes haste to the shore. And because he had before indangered his own preservation by endeavouring to save one of his Sons, he now hates that natural Affection, and leaves them both to endure the punishments of his Villany, and with some few of his servants gets into a Ship, and undiscovered sails away. The Souldiers hearing of his escape, seize upon both his Sons, with their blood to satisfie for their Father's Crimes. *Archagathus* thought to stop the execution, by asking *Arcesilaus*, that was the Tyrant's friend, whom grief and indignation had now made the forwardest to revenge, "What Agathocles *would doe to his* "*Children that should murder his Sons.* The *Syracusan* answered, "*it was enough for him* "*that his Children did live some time after A-*"gathocles's *were slain.* And therefore to reap this comfort, he speedily sheaths his sword in *Archagathus*'s body. *Heraclidas* was killed by those that had been the Souldiers of *Ophellas.*

phellas. The *Greeks* observed in this execution the exact Justice of Heaven, that in the same moneth and on the same day that *Agathocles* had contrary to all faith and rites of Hospitality murdered *Ophellas*, and seized upon his Army, did he lose his own Army, and had both his Sons slain. Providence like a just Law-giver exacting double punishment for so great a Crime; for he that had wickedly killed one Friend, had two Sons justly destroied.

Thus having satisfied their Revenge, they provide for their Safety; and therefore chusing new Officers, by them they treat with the *Carthaginians*, and conclude a Peace upon these Articles. "*That the* Sicilians *should deliver* "*up all those places which had been taken in* "Africk. *That for the surrender they should* "*receive three hundred talents. That such of* "*them as would serve the State of* Carthage "*should be taken into pay. That those who desi-* "*red to return to* Sicily *should be transported* "*thither, and have houses and places to live in* "*assigned to them at* Soluns, *which was a City* "*of their Dominion in the Island.* This Composition was faithfully observed to those that did submit unto it; but such as were left in Garrisons, and would not surrender, vainly hoping the deceitful Tyrant would shortly relieve them, were soon reduced by force. The Captains whereof they crucified, but yoked the

Digitized by Google

the common Souldiers like beasts, to plough that ground, and repair by their labours that Country, which they had wasted by their arms. This was the issue of the *African* War, which had continued four years; all which time *Carthage* with undaunted courage and various success maintained her Liberty, and laboured to preserve her Empire against a subtle, industrious and bloody Tyrant. And *Agathocles* had the trial of the vicissitudes of all humane affairs, having a long time been the terrour of *Africk*: He had broken many Armies, ruined great Cities, depopulated large Countries, moistned the parching Sands with blood, humbled the Pride of *Carthage*, and scarce left them any thing but their own walls; yet was twice a Prisoner to his own Souldiers, and in danger of death from his own Army; and at last blotted out all the honour of his Atchievements by a most cursed Perfidiousness, and too great a desire of Life, deserting a brave Army, betraying his own Sons, ignominiously flying with one Ship and few attendants, trembling in the memory of his Chains and the terrours of his Enemies; as if he had been designed to be the example not onely of the Crimes, but also of the Punishments of a Tyrant.

Stripped of all his forces, with shame and fury *Agathocles* lands in *Sicily*; where, like a dying Viper, his last bites were most fierce:

Ruine

Ruine and destruction of others being the last pleasures of a falling Tyrant. And as if the air and soil of *Africk* (that is fertile of Monsters) had made him more Monster then he was before, that miserable Island felt a sharper fit of Cruelty when he was thus half destroied, then when he was in his more flourishing fortune. He seemed now not so greedy of the Rewards of Wickedness, as delighted with Wickedness it self; not being more angry that he had lost his own, then that he had not got another's substance, or that every one had not lost as well as he. The first thing fell his Inhumanity was the City of *Egesta*, towards which he leads out those Forces he had, and demands a contribution so heavy as would wholly have impoverished the City, though it was great and populous, and had ten thousand families in it. This Injustice did so exasperate the *Egestans*, that they often met among themselves to complain of such usage. "That though they were "in Confederacy with him, and so should be "willing to relieve the necessities of their Associate, yet were they not his Slaves, that he "should conceive all their goods to be his own. "They acknowledged that a League with a more "potent party was but a kind of Subjection; yet "were they not so absolutely to obey, as if they "had been conquered by him. The Tyrant was not ignorant of these complaints which their Grief made too frequent, and the hopes of

Mode-

Moderation from a Confederate made too bold. *For it is safer to resist then to complain of the Injustice of a Tyrant; and it is most dangerous in such consults to be understood then to attempt.*

Therefore while their thoughts and anger languish'd in complaints onely, he thought it was too great a liberty to be grieved at his commands; so he pretends that they were forming a Conspiracy against him, and declares that he will be avenged in the Ruine of them and their City. And because he knew them to be innocent, according to the practices of Tyrants, he used them most cruelly, that others might conjecture there was some great Crime by the bitterness of the Punishment. Those that were the poorest of the people, he leads out to the river *Scamander*, and upon the very banks, as if he had had a frolick to colour the streams with blood, he cuts all their throats. The poverty of these men made their passage out of life less irksome. But those that were supposed to be rich he kills with most exquisite Tortures, to make them confess what and where their Money was; and to make the terrour greater, he had his several Engines of Torment. Some he breaks upon the wheel; others he bound upon battering Rams, then forcing them off he dash'd them in peices; others he makes to die by degrees, and forces death through every member: First he cuts off their Legs, and as

Digitized by Google

their

their Confessions were slow or quick, or ad-
swerable to his [illegible] expectation, so he pro-
ceeds to the rest, pulling off their Hands, pur-
cing out their Eyes; and every degree to death
was the more sharp, that they might feel them-
selves dying, and denied them the comfort of
a speedy death. Besides, that he might outgoe
all examples of Cruelty that ever the world gave
before, in imitation of *Phalaris's* Bull, he made
a brazen Bed proportionable to the body of a
man, wherein the Wretch that was to be tor-
tured being closed with a grate, and having
fire under it, was exceedingly tormented; and
by this Engine the Tyrant could feed his eyes
by beholding the torture; and it was a great
part of the misery of the Sufferer, to be seen,
and see such an horrid Villain triumph in their
pains, and urge their Tormentor. It is some
modesty in a Tyrant, if he look not upon that
wickedness which he commands. As for the
Matrons and rich Widows, he broke their Feet
with burning Pincers, pulled off their Breasts,
and upon the Loins of Women with child laid
bricks to force them to cast their birth. Besides
those that did die at the will of the Tyrant, who
would rather perish by another's wickedness
then by their own, there were many others
that scorned the ministery of such cursed hands
to set at liberty their free Souls. Of which
some burnt themselves, Wives and Children,
together with their Wealth, that it might not
be

be the prey of the Tyrant. Others embracing the Altars of their Gods, invoking their Justice and Revenge as the last comfort of dying men, did there let out their own blood. And others went and hanged themselves, that they might escape greater miseries. So that by these several wayes there was an end put to that flourishing City. The whole face of the Town was ghastly even to the spoilers; but it was impossible for any thing to check their Covetousness, who in the sad Ruines fought for the Wealth of the destroyed owners: and to increase the gain of his Crimes, he sold the Children and Youth of either sex to the *Italians* for Slaves.

The City being thus depopulated, he appoints it as a refuge for such desperate and needy persons as should desert his Enemies, and come under his subjection. And lastly, he changes the name of the place from *Aegesta* to *Dicaeopolis*, i. e. *the City of Justice*. This he did either to profane the sacred name of Justice, and shew his Contempt *of these eternal Laws of Right and Wrong*, by attributing so glorious a title to so horrid a Crime; which *is the last pleasure and delight of those that are prodigiously wicked*. So *Polybius* relates of one *Dicaearchus* an *Aetolian*, who being made by *Philip* of *Macedonia* General in an Expedition to break the League that was between the Islands called *Cyclades* and the Cities of *Hellespont*, (a design so apparently abominable, that the Undertaker

dertaker could give no honest account of it) to shew how his soul delighted in the greatest Crimes, and to flesie both the Gods and men, before he took shipping, he built two Altars, one to *Impiety*, and another to *Injustice*, and sacrificed to them as to his Deities. But the Historian observes, that in those cruel tortures wherewith he ended his daies, he met with the provoked justice both of God and Man. And so also did *Agathocles*, for from a brand pluck'd out of the fire of this City was he and his whole Family consumed. Or herein the *Syracusan* intended no more then to practise the usual arts of Tyrants, who to divert the Hatred of the present, and the Infamy among future ages, are wont to put the specious names of Religion and Justice upon their most detestable actions. So *Tacitus* observes of *Tiberius*, that he would put upon the new Crimes which his Jealousie or Covetousness objected to others, those names which the Laws had appropriated to great Offences, and so gild his Cruelty and Rapine with the titles of Justice. And as we have seen our modern Tyrants style their attempts to mind *Piety* the *Propagation of Religion*. Such Cheats indeed do for a time quiet the Vulgar spirits, who mere stick upon names than things; yet when discovered, do so much the more increase their Hatred, as they upbraided and abused their Ignorance. And *the nobler and more discerning minds think their miseries under Tyrants*

the

the greater, by the injuries that are done to Vertue and Goodness.

The next Tragedy was acted at *Syracuse*: for while *Agathocles* was busie in these Butcheries, he receives the news of the death of his Sons. He grieved not so much for them, who he suspected were too near his rivals of Empire, but feared left the kindred and friends of the Souldiers whom he had betraied in *Africk* would be excited by their Example, to attempt that upon the old Wolf, which they had executed upon the Cubs. Therefore by a private messenger he commands his Brother *Antander* speedily to murder the Friends of all those that had followed him into *Africk*. *Antander*, who was of a base temper, and who accounted Cruelty for Valour, did exactly perform the command, and endeavoured to outvy his Brother in blood. For he gathered together for the slaughter, not onely those of their Kindred who were of an age fit to take revenge, but even their aged Parents, that were so near the grave as that they had long lost their Senses: and the sucking Children, that were not capable to know the difference betwixt Slavery and Freedome; the Women also, that could not be feared to overthrow the Tyranny, yet if they had any relation to those whom they desired to grieve, were all driven to the Sea-shore. Where that promiscuous multitude, (that forced Pity from every eye but those of their Butchers,)

while they did expect the stroke of death, and wash that place with their tears first, that afterwards was to be pollated with their blood; and by their cries and supplications drowned both the noise of the City and the Waves. Thus tortured with the expectation of Death, and the horrid spectacle of their murdered Friends who preceded in the execution, they had at last all their Throats cut, and their bodies were thrown into the Sea; which for a great space was coloured with blood, and the marks of the Cruelty were carried to far distant Coasts. And, which was most inhumane, none dared to bewail the miserable, nor bury those carcasses which the waves refused to hide, but hail back on the shore; lest they should be thought of kin to the murdered, and be forced to the same destiny: so that the Commerce of humane Nature was broke, and Cruelty grew the higher from Commiseration. Upon such actions as these does the security of Usurpers depend; so that those that have had any sense of Vertue or Humanity, do rather chuse to perish in an obscure Privacy, then aim at Power that must be obtained and preserved by so much Impiety, and so great Misery to mankind.

Syracuse and *Ægesta* being thus made sensible of the Tyrant's return, who like a direful Plague brought death and destruction wherever he went; he goes to all the other Cities that were either under his Dominion, or in Confe-

Digitized by Google

Confederacy with him, and by extorting Money from them, taking off the suspected, and reinforcing his Garisons, he labours to keep them from a Revolt, which either his Wickedness or his contemptible Overthrow might excite them unto. But yet he could not prevent the effect of *misfortunes*, which *shakes the faith and cancels the obligations that are between wicked persons*. For *Pasiphilus*, either by the inconstancy of his nature, or fearing his Master's ruine, and willing therefore to provide for his own safety, did revolt to *Dinocrates*; and, for a pledge of his faith, delivered up to him all those strong holds and forces which he commanded for the Tyrant. This did so strangely affect the jealous *Agathocles*, and presented to his fancy such terrible consequences, that mad with fear lest *Pasiphilus* might have more Complices, he thought of quitting the Tyranny, and therefore presently sends to treat with *Dinocrates*, and propounds to him these conditions of Peace. "*That he would part with his Kingdome, and restore liberty to the* Syracusans; *That* Dinocrates *should return to his own City; That* "*there should be granted to* Agathocles *for his* "*security the two Garrisons of* Thermæ *and* "Cephaledium, *with the territories thereunto* "*belonging.*"

These Articles being divulged, afforded matter of discourse to the *Speculative*. Some applauded the Moderation of the man, and attri-

buted this prudence of temporizing with his fortune to his long experience in various successes, which uses to render the great Actors in the world more wary, and suspicious of future Events; and the more prosperous they have been, the less will they permit to Chance. That although he might hope for a change of his present low condition, yet he was also to fear a greater fall. On the other side, some required his Constancy, and wondered at his change from himself; that whereas in former Perils he seemed always of a present courage and tenacious of hope, yet now he should be so transported with fear, that he did not dare to hazard one encounter for that which he had by such difficult Crimes got, and hitherto preserved. And, which was most strange, that he should despise his own advantages, being Lord Master of *Syracuse* and many other strong holds, stored with no small Treasure, furnished with a force that was not contemptible in Number, but yet more considerable in Experience and the arts of War. They therefore concluded that he was never endued with true Valour, and that his former resolutions were either but the insolencies of a present fortune, or the eager hopes of a future; which were but spurious signs, not genuine effects of a brave Generosity. *And as good men prevail by Vertue, so many base persons do sometimes by their Vices.* Another sort judged that all these Overtures of Peace

Digitized by Google

were

were but to conceal more secret practices in his Enemies Army; that *Dinocrates* had hitherto either basely, or falsely, by various delaies, betraied the seasons of war to his adversaries, and that this Treaty was but to continue him in that negligence. That the Tyrant knew well enough how dangerous it was for a private person to have once born the name of a King, and that such when they part with their power, do abjure their safety: for if not the publick Hatred, yet private Revenge forbids Security. The memory of *Dionysius* was yet fresh; who when he had lost *Syracuse*, and was besieged in his own Works, and did so despond that he offered to redeem his life with a voluntary Exile out of *Sicily*, was yet encouraged to a pertinacy by his friend *Eloris*, who told him that "*Tyranny was a specious Epitaph*; and by his Father in law *Megacles*, who dictated this Apophthegm, that "*a Tyrant should rather be drawn by the heels out of his Government, then voluntarily to recede from it.* Which so confirmed that Tyrant, who was in greater distress then the present, that he retained his power, and weathered out the Storm that threatned his shipwreck. That sure this wily Monster was as far from intending what he did offer, as ever his unfaithful Soul used to keep a distance from his Tongue.

The event gave some credit to this last conjecture, for it happened that the Treaty came to

Digitized by Google

no effect. For whether *Agathocles* did seriously intend it or no, yet *Dionysius*'s Ambition made it frustrate. *Peace cannot please those whose desires are immoderate or corrupt, and the desire of Greatness where it is, extinguishes all other affections.* *Dionysius* was no less desirous to be a Monarch then *Agathocles* had been, and was as little pleased that the Democracy should be restored at *Syracuse*, where none that were Great could ever be safe. His present command of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, together with the disposal of all the Cities that were of the League, of which he was called the General, but in truth was little less then the Lord, was not to be parted with for the privacy of Peace, which equally obscures the brave and base, and makes no difference betwixt noble and ignoble Spirits. *Syracuse* was indeed his native City, but she would be no better then his Enemy, that would reduce him to the equality of a Private person, make him obnoxious to the harangues of unquiet Demagogues and the censures of the giddy Rabble. Upon these considerations he was as untoward to admit of Peace as he had been negligent in prosecuting the War, and therefore found out many difficulties in the Treaty. Sometimes he denied the Garisons upon jealousie of his future pretensions: sometimes he urged that he should for ever depart from *Sicily*: and another time he required his Chil-

Digitized by Google dren

dram for hostages. *Agathocles*, though he perceived the drift of the man, and that he should prevail nothing by this Treaty, but make them more eager in requiring what they knew he would deny, did yet continue his practice, that by his Commissioners he might debauch the Army, buy off the faith of some, raise diffidence of their General in others, and stir up Seditions and Factions against him in the several Cities. He insinuates by his agents, that *Dinocrates* did not faithfully intend the liberty of *Sicily*, but sought to have that power in himself which he envied and fought against in another; that he was the great distraction of the publick Peace and Happiness of every City, by refusing such Articles which a Conquerour would not have denied to the vanquished, and so he neglected the safety of all those Cities whose servant he was.

Whiles he lays these grounds for Victory there, he concludes a Peace with the *Carthaginians*, and delivers up all their Forts and Cities which he had seized upon in *Sicily* for the summe of three hundred talents and two hundred thousand measures of corn. By this composition he was at liberty to employ all his thoughts & forces against the *Free League*, with whom he was resolved to try what his secret arts had done, and offer them a set Battel in the Field, although he had no more then five thousand foot and eight hundred horse, which he did not so much

Digitized by Google

trust

must so, as he did unto his own practises, and the Vices of the Enemy. The Confederates were well pleased with the Tyrant's confidence, who seemed to offer up his small number to the swords of twenty five thousand foot, and three thousand horse, which was their strength. Therefore both parties did willingly engage at a place called *Gorgium*. The Fight was stoutly maintained on both sides for some time, and the Victory doubtful, whether it should fall where was the greatest Number, or the bravest Courage: but at length the practices of the Tyrant began to work, for two thousand of *Democrates's* Army, that were corrupted by the Treaty, in the very heat of the Battel went over to *Agathocles's* side. Which did both raise the hopes and courage of his party, and so terrifie the other with this unexpected Perfidiousness, that every one doubting whether his next comerade were a friend or foe, they trusted more in their flight then in their companions, and were immediately routed. *Agathocles* would not pursue his flying Enemies, but by a seeming humanity to spare his deceived Countrymen, he sounds a retreat from the slaughter. So that all the horse were gotten safe to *Ambicus*, many of the foot by the benefit of the approaching night escaped quite away; but the greatest part of them that were left in a body together, had possessed themselves of an hill, which they had fortified for their defence.

To

To check the Tyrant offers hopes of Pardon and Peace, lest despair might kindle them to a dangerous obstinacy. Necessity many times forcing men to miraculous acts: therefore by some Messengers he desires them to come to a Treaty, "which as before he had entertained with "them onely out of a desire of Peace, so now "he had no other motives, but by that means "to put an end to the miseries of his Country. "That although his condition were now better "than it was then, yet he knew how it became not "just persons and generous spirits to change their "honest desires with success. He had never "thought any cause of war could be just against "the Sicilians, and that therefore he chose rather "to maintain their common interest, and to un-"dergo so many dangers for them in Africk, "to break the Punick yoke; which he had done, "had not some that envied the publick Happi-"ness of the Island, distracted him by assaul-"ting his estate here, while he was faithfully "serving them there. That now if they were "weary of a tedious and fruitless war, and "were desirous to return to the comforts of Peace, "and the pleasures of their own homes, laying "down their arms, they should find a free and "safe passage. But if they preferred the hatred "of him to all the blessings of Quiet, and would "still retain their hostile affections together "with their weapons, they must make their way "with the sword; and he would extinguish their

hate

"*hate of him with their own blood: For they* "*had found (by a sadder experience then he* "*could have wished) that there was no hope of* "*success against him, who with so small an* "*handful of men, through the assistance of the* "*Gods, (without whose favour there could be* "*no prosperity,) had overthrown their mighty* "*Army.* The poor wretches, though they knew that not any word was true, and had many testimonies that not any Promise he would make, he did intend to keep, yet because they were hopeless of Victory, desirous of Peace, and contented with Safety, were easily deluded by their hopes and fears to try once more his faith, and accept what he offered before they desired, a readiness which might justly have moved their suspicion. For *Tyrants are never forward to doe an act that becomes a vertuous person; but they intend some horrid Impiety which would move blushes in a Pury.* The credulous Souldiers accepting his Oath for a safe convoy, left their works and arms upon the Hill, and came down to require the performance. When they had thus parted with all their means of safety, the Tyrant incompasses them about (being to the number of seven thousand, others say but four thousand) with his own Souldiers all armed. Then the miserable men perceived themselves cheated to their Ruine; when they saw that they were hemm'd in by an Enemy insolent with Victory, and terrible

Digitized by Google

sible with their Arms, and they themselves naked, without any instrument either for revenge or defence, they concluded themselves devoted to destruction. Therefore falling upon one another's necks, and shaking one another by the hand, they gave and took the last salutes, each one desiring his Friend and neighbour not to seek a different fortune in a common cause. So invoking Heaven and the injured Gods to revenge their blood, they were in that posture all killed by the command of the perjured Tyrant.

Thus was the Religion of an Oath used by *Agathocles*, and constantly practised by all Usurpers, onely to deceive men whom they fear, should their intentions be open, while they contemn that Deity which they invoke and attest. So that *Perjury is the evidence of base spirits and wicked souls, and never falls upon those that fear no enemy, or reverence any God.* *Regulus* shall be for ever memorable, as long as Piety or Vertue are in the world, that would not break his oath, though made to such enemies who he knew would punish those Vertues which they should have admired, and would reward his reverence of Heaven with such tortures as would have been cruel to beasts. And *Rome* was thought worthy of her Greatness, while she bred up her Citizens in honest arts, and would not suffer the Religion of an Oath to be profaned by any unworthy collusion. For

as she needed not such arts of falsehood for Empire, so would she not permit them to her Citizens for Safety. But they justly merit the eternal hatred of mankind, who undermine Society and all humane commerce by violating the sacred obligation of an Oath, either to attain at power, or to ruine an Enemy that cannot be overcome by honest courses.

This great Army being onely by the fraud of the Tyrant thus broken and defeated, some few of the Exiles he received to mercy, but they were such as he could not suspect for perillous persons, whom their fears and not courage had herded among the other champions of Liberty, that would be contented only with Life, though it were under Slavery. And to such Tyrants easily permit the enjoyment of their misery. *For their safety is founded on the baseness of their subjects, and they are always more in fear of the few that are brave and noble, though in their fetters, than of those that are against them.* Onely the great wonder among the *Greeks* was, that *Epaminondas* did admit *Dioxippus* to a composition, and kept that faith with him which he did with none else: and whereas he was so jealous of all others whom he had wronged, or that had opposed him, that he never permitted them to live, if he had power to put them to death, yet after so long an hostility he admitted *Dioxippus* to places of trust about him, and committed to him the command of some of his forces. And

Digitized by Google

their

their faith (if the correspondence that is between faithless persons deserve that name) was preserved inviolable by either to their death. Some thought that the favours and aversions of Princes happened to men, as all other things, by the fate and fortune of their birth. Others conceived that the conformity of their humours, being both ambitious and faithless, had something in their Souls congenial, which might form a friendship, when their interests were not divided. Therefore the Tyrant had dismissed him safe at the Massacre at *Syracuse*, and now received him again into his bosome at the Overthrow at *Gergium*. For then their Interests did conspire. *Dinocrates*, that was hated for refusing the Peace when it was offered in the Treaty, and suspected by all Cities of the *Free League* for betraying their forces in the last Fight, could not hope for security any where but in the Tyrant's protection: And *Agathocles* doubted not to make use of that man's Courage and Service, whom hatred and suspicions had weakned and disgraced so far as never to be trusted with any designs against him: And using him in all odious enterprizes, he should thereby derive the publick execrations from himself. *Dinocrates* being thus trusted, because he could hope for no advantage in the deceiving of it, was very industrious to reduce to his new Master's obedience all those places whom the desire of Liberty had yet animated to an enmity.

mity. And first he seizes upon *Gela*, and therein takes *Pasiphilus*, that had revolted to him. A person neither constant in his Faith, nor stout in his Perfidiousness. With his blood *Dinocrates* assures *Agathocles* of his unfeigned obedience, and comforts the oppressed *Sicilians*, when they saw one instrument of Slavery had met with his deserts. Afterwards he causes all the Forts and Garisons that had been formerly in his power to be surrendred to the Tyrant's command, and within the space of two years brought under his yoke all the Cities that were disaffected to him.

In the mean while the Tyrant, not to forbear Villany himself, while his Agents were busie in *Sicily*, looks about for other places to act some mischief in. And considering that the Island of *Lipara* through a long Peace was rich and weak, and so could not resist his enterprises, and yet afford him spoils; he sails thither with his Navy, and surprizing them, requires fifty talents of Silver as the price of their Safety. Although they had provoked him by no Injury, nor owed him any Subjection, yet it was enough that they were not able to resist his Injustice, and had something to invite his Covetousness. The Islanders paid him as much money as they had in their private & publick Exchequers, and desired a day of paiment for the rest. For although there was enough Treasure in their Temples, that was consecrated to their

Digitized by Google

Gods

Gods *Eolus* and *Vulcan*, as would satisfie the Tyrant's demands; yet had they never been guilty of such a Sacrilege, and therefore would not now pollute their private fortunes, by using the consecrated Mony to purchase their Safety, the publick Religion prevailing over their private Interests. The Tyrant that had no Justice in demanding any, would have no Religion to spare so much, and therefore forced away from them and their Gods all the dedicated Treasure that was in their Temples, and carrying it aboard, spread his sails for *Syracuse*. But being overtaken by a great Tempest, he lost eleven of his Ships, which were those that carried the spoils of Sacrilege. The *Lyparæans* were a little comforted that their God *Æolus*, which they imagined was the Deity of the Winds, had (as they thought) revenged his own injuries, and suffered not the *Syracusan* Thief to enjoy the rewards of his Crimes. The *Greeks* also observed that *Vulcan* their God of Fire took his part of revenge in the death of the Monster when he was burnt alive.

So odious were always Sacrilegious persons even to those that knew not the true God, that all men did curiously observe and exceedingly rejoice at the Vengeance of Heaven upon such detestable Malefactors, which very often seized on them in the sight of men. The true God seemed careful to preserve Religion among men, by avenging the injuries that were done even

to false Gods by those that worshipped them as true. This he often did in pity to the deceived world. For without Religion Communities would degenerate into bands of Thieves and herds of beasts, each one preying upon another, and keeping no more faith then necessity could inforce. That Religion may affect the minds of men, and draw them to an admiring obedience and awful reverence of its dictates, it must have that Majesty and Splendour which may work even upon the Carnal part of man, (which is most predominant in the multitude.) The lustre that is most likely to have influence on such, is that wch is derived from the affluence & greatness of those things the world accounts desirable. Therefore the riches of Consecrations & Anathema's have been thought attractive expedients to this purpose; because they are the testimonies of the munificence of Heaven to its Worshippers, who in gratitude have by these returns acknowledged the fountain of all their Wealth and Happiness. So likewise do such oblations commend the pious Examples and Religious actions of past Ages to Posterity, and provoke them to an imitation. The purity of Religion, though it most respects the Rational part, and seats its Throne in the more Intellectual powers, yet doth not disdain the use of such attractives for the inferiour Affections, requiring not onely the Heart, but the Flesh also, to praise the Living God. And although

Digitized by Google

it

it expects exact Obedience onely from the purer Spirits, yet it would prevent the contempt of more polluted souls: like wise Law-givers, who frame not their prescriptions for the publick Safety with respect onely to the *Virtuosi*, but temper them so as they may allure and invite the observance of the dregs of the people. So great is the interest of Religion in the preservation of its dedications, that few or none did ever bare-facedly own this Crime, but endeavoured to elude the peoples zeal, and divert the envy of the sin by some more specious pretext to Piety. That sacrilegious Tyrant who took away this *Jupiter's* Golden Coat, and gave him a woollen, did scoffingly pretend the change was for the God's advantage, because the Gold was too heavy for him in the Summer, and the Wool was more warm for the Winter: and those that imitate him want not their pretexts of a more refined knowledge of a Deity; that Heaven hath no need of our Treasure, and is more delighted with a Spiritual Worship. But yet we shall find none guilty of Sacrilege that are not infamous with other Crimes: who when they have exhausted their own Revenues in the satisfaction of their Lusts, invade the treasures of Religion to supply their wants; or being exceeding covetous, make no difference betwixt things Civil and Divine, and when they have oppressed men with Extortions, provoke Heaven with Expilations; which sooner or la-

ter takes Vengeance on their Injuſtice, and in their Ruine recovers the Honour of Religion.

Agathocles having loſt the Spoils of his impious Voiage, could not reſt till he had acted ſome more proſperous Wickedneſs. All his thoughts being at preſent frighted with the ſight of the coaſts of *Africk*, he now turns his deſigns to the other ſhore, and laies his projects for the diſturbance of *Italy*. Which being publickly known, the ſmaller and maritime Cities of that coaſt that lay moſt obnoxious to his Invaſion and Power ſent Ambaſſadours to treat a Confederacy with him, that by a preſent Friendſhip they might prevent a future Subjection. The Tyrant receives the Meſſengers with all his uſual falſe Careſſes, puts them in hope of Peace, and entertains them with ſeveral diverſions, that they might not have leiſure to obſerve his Preparations. Which when they were finiſhed, he invites them to a Supper, and appoints them the next day for Audience. But he that night took ſhipping, and ſo tranſported his Army into *Italy*, while the Cities were altogether unprepared for a Reſiſtance, becauſe they had received no intelligence from their Agents. The firſt that were aſſailed were the *Brutii*, who loſt one of their Cities called *Æthas* by the ſudden Invaſion of the Tyrant; but not diſcouraged therewith, they with a great power aſſault him by night, and killing four thouſand of his men, force him back to *Syracuſe*.

Not

Not succeeding in his open Force, he tries more close and impious Cheats; for having a design upon the *Crotoniates*, that he might make them secure, he sends a Messenger to *Menedemus*, that then was chief Commander there, and had been his ancient Host, to acquaint him that he had an intent to accompany his Daughter *Lanassa*, whom he had married to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epire*, as far as *Italy* on her way. And therefore desires him not to be suspicious of the Navy which he had provided for the safety and honour of the Bride. And while he intended this soft business of Love, he desired that he might not be troubled by them with any attempts of War. They easily believed him, who did desire it should not be otherwise; and by this security they found themselves altogether unprovided for a Defence, when they saw him lay siege to their City: And after he had made a small battery upon their walls, fearing lest a stout and vain opposition might kindle him to a greater Cruelty, they opened their Gates unto him. Where, as soon as he was entred, he uses the utmost Violence, plundering the whole City, and killing all that were able to bear arms, he sold all the rest for Slaves. Having destroied this flourishing City, he enters into a Confederacy with the smaller Towns that were upon those coasts, and which maintained themselves by Piracy, to join with them part of his Ships,

and to have his ſhare proportionable in the prizes. Thus he that affected to be a Prince turned Thief, his nature recoiling to the ſins of his private condition, when his outward Dignity required nobler practices; as to ſuppreſs the common Enemies, as Pirats are, and to maintain the Commerce of Nations. But a Tyrant doth nothing abhorrent from himſelf, when he plaies a private Thief that was before a publick, and maintains but his former enmity to the nature of Man and Nations. By his publick and private Robberies having recruited himſelf, he intends a revenge on the *Brutii* for the late loſs he received from them: therefore he invades them again with thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and keeps a ſtrong Navy riding upon their Coaſt. A Tempeſt broke and ſcattered his Navy: but his Land-forces had ſome ſucceſs for a time, ſo that he forced the *Brutii* to articles of Submiſſion; "*To give ſix hundred hoſtages, and to re-*"*ceive his Garriſons into their Cities.* But the Tyrant no ſooner left the Continent, and departed for *Sicily*, but they ſet upon the Garriſons, kill'd all his Souldiers, and delivered their Hoſtages, and ſo ſhook off his yoke of Slavery, which he was never able to lay upon them again.

Agathocles finding ſuch variety in his ſingle fortune, which ſometimes was too liberal, and

Digitized by Google

at

at other times recall'd all her favours by some great loss, like a tempestuous Sea, when one wave snatches that from the shore, which a former had brought to it; he was resolved to try what he could doe in conjunction with some potent Ally, whose fortune was more steady. And therefore he sends his Son the younger *Agathocles* to *Demetrius* then King of *Macedonia*, to make a League and Confederacy with him. *Demetrius*, who was not unacquainted of the falshoods of the *Syracusan*, and Fame had not yet suffered a silence of the murdered *Ophellas*, could not expect any assurance from such a Confederate; who having been so often unfaithful, could not without a Miracle be true to any; yet was notwithstanding willing to follow the Tyrant in his own paths, and ruine him by his own arts. *A retaliation so constant to Wickednesse, that scarce any one perishes but by the waies he sinn'd.* He therefore entertains the young Tyrant with great blandishments, adorns him with the Royal Purple, and sends him home loaded with magnificent promises and great presents, and with him *Oxythemis* a dexterous Confident of his own; in colour to accommodate the difficulties that might emerge in the Treaty, to project a form of accord, and to keep a good correspondence betwixt his Master and the Tyrant; but in truth to discover the intrigues of the *Syracusan* counsels, and to be a Spy upon the affairs of *Sicily*, to discover

ver the easiest way of invading it, and to practise the Tyrant to some destructive enterprizes. *Oxythemis* had an handsome reception, and great credit with *Agathocles*, whose humours and inclinations he soon found, and dexterously moved him to renew his attempts against *Carthage*, and follow his pretensions in *Africk*. This he eagerly prosecuted, that so the Tyrant leaving *Sicily*, his Master with more ease might attack it. This seemed to *Agathocles* as the counsel of his Fortune; for he was now free from any Troubles in the Island. *Syracuse* by an open and continued Trade, and some years of Peace, had recovered so much Wealth as defaced all the marks of the former War. He was now strengthned with the new alliance of a powerful Neighbour, whose assistances *Oxythemis* after the *Greek* manner did augment and enlarge. He therefore embraced the design, and made preparations answerable unto it. He had provided two hundred Vessels equipped with all necessary furniture for the transporting of his Forces, and had begun Hostility by intercepting the *Carthaginian* Ships that carried provisions of Corn and other necessaries from *Sicily* and *Sardinia* to *Africk*. But in the very beginnings of his design that Vengeance of Heaven which had been long due unto him did at last take hold of him, and blasted his counsels with his Ruine, which was thus effected.

Digitized by Google The

The Tyrant being now old, and doubting the chances of War, and the varieties of Fortune, which he had so often experienced, would provide for the Succession in his ill-gotten dominion before he departed from *Sicily*. Those whom propinquity of Blood, the affections of the Tyrant, and the Vulgar report marked out for the Honour, were the younger *Agathocles*, and *Archagathus* the Son of that *Archagathus* that was betraied by his Father, and slain by the Souldiers in *Africk*. Both these had great hopes and strong expectations to be the heirs of the Empire. The first built his upon the indulgent Affections of the old Tyrant, which he had gained by a specious observance, & continual presence, accompanied with a quiet industry, in all that was commanded, though he were unfit for War, and would wear out daies of action with words of Obedience. Besides, his late Embassie and magnificent reception in *Greece* had made him more splendid, though they were but the arts of the Enemy, not the effects of his Merits. And it is not to be doubted but that *Oxythemis* favoured his choice, whom he saw least able to hinder his Projects. On the other side *Archagathus* founded his pretensions to the Succession because he was General of the Forces, and was now with them about *Ætna*; he had been in several Expeditions, in which by his boldness and generous mein he had got the

Digitized by Google

esteem

esteem of valiant, and the affections of the Souldiery. So that the old Tyrant seemed to hold but a precarious Empire of him, which he could take away at his pleasure. But the obsequiousness of the younger *Agathocles* did over-balance all these Merits in the judgement of his Father. Therefore when *Archagathus* was abroad with the Army, the Tyrant commends his Son *Agathocles* to the obedience of the *Syracusans*, as the future hopes of all their Peace and Safety, and whom he had designed for his Throne. And that he might have the like reverence from the Army, he sends him with a Letter to *Archagathus*, commanding him to deliver up the charge of the Forces into the hands of his Uncle.

Archagathus seeing his hopes deluded, and that all his glorious hazards were fruitless, when the rewards of danger were conferred on him that was never near them; conceives an inexpiable hatred both against his Grandfather and Rival, and resolves to quench it with the blood of both. To this end he sends presently a Messenger to *Menon* his Correspondent at Court, and with whom he had often treated of dangerous Secrets, and had prepared him for any design he should advise him unto, and desires him to poison the Old Tyrant, and he himself would contrive the death of the Younger. This *Menon* was a native of *Agesta*,

Digitized by Google

Ægesta, where *Agathocles* had acted those incredible Cruelties, and in the Ruine of the City was taken with the other youth that were appointed to be sold for Slaves. But the comelineſs of his Perſon had preferred him to the Tyrant's own Luſt, who uſed him as a Bardacio. This he took patiently, and ſeemed to be well pleaſed with his employment; and to gain the more Credit with the Tyrant and advantage of doing miſchief, did glory that he was admitted into the number of his Prince's moſt beloved Confidents, and profeſſed that the preſent Benefits had canceil'd the old Injuries. But yet his ſoul did inwardly burn with a deſire of revenge, both for the abuſe of his Body, and the deſtruction of his City, and therefore was watchful and ſtudious of a fit opportunity to accompliſh it. *Archagathus* was not ignorant of his Diſcontents, and had found him a fit engine for ſuch attempts as his defeated hopes did ſtand in need of. For to enterprize upon a Tyrant by a ſecret Conſpiracy, none are more proper inſtruments then ſuch as have a charge about their Perſons; becauſe they cannot be eaſily ruined but by thoſe whom they moſt truſt, and none are fitter to be wrought to this then ſuch as have been abuſed by their Maſters in their bodies. And therefore *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that many of thoſe hateful Beaſts have been diſpatch'd out of the world by their forced Pathicks.

Digitized by Google

thicks. Besides, he that is to perform it must be a person of a firm spirit, made so either by Nature or Passion, and resolved either for Death or Revenge. *Menon* had all these requisites, and therefore receiving the summons, prepares for his work, and acts it about the same time that his Correspondent had finish'd his.

For *Archagathus* not shewing any signs of Discontent, but professing a ready submission to the Command of his Old, and the pleasures of his New King, invites his Uncle to a Sacrifice, (wherein he used his Grandfather's method, of making Religion the preface to Villany) in an Island somewhat distant from the quarters of the Army, and there making him drunk he cuts his throat, and casts his dead body into the Sea. As if he would appease it for the pollutions of the Old Tyrant, who had often defiled it with the cargasses of murdered innocents. But the waves cast it back to the shore, and it being known to the Inhabitants, was taken up and conveyed to *Syracuse*, there to vex the eyes and soul of his inhumane Father, who by this time also felt the approaches of death. For *Agathocles* being accustomed to pick his teeth after Supper, rising from table called for his Pick-tooth, which *Menon*, whose office it was to provide it, had anointed with a most mortal poison. The Tyrant using

Digitized by Google

it

it with a great deal of eagerneſs, had ſoon rubbed all his gummes with it, and immediately felt thoſe exceeding pains which may be eaſily imagined were in parts of ſo tender a ſenſe when infected with poiſon: while *Manon* eſcaped, and got ſafe to *Archagathus*.

The Tyrant's Diſeaſe every day increaſed, and his Body ſuffering more bitter pangs then ever his moſt ſagacious Cruelty could have invented for his injured Vaſſals, his Soul alſo had its ſhare of torment in the news and ſight of the ſlain body of his beloved Son. Heaven as it were providing tortures for every Faculty and Paſſion. His Grief was raiſed in conſidering the great loſs of him in whom he thought to have eſtabliſhed his Empire, perpetuated his Name, and who, he conceived, would have been a ſupport to the weaker branches of his Family, that now muſt all periſh and be expoſed to Ruine. His Indignation ſwell'd high at the too near imitation of his own Wickedneſs, and that his Grandchild ſhould revenge the miſchiefs he had done to his accurſed Generation: That all the rewards of his Perjury and Blood, and the fruits of all his Cares and Toils ſhould be ſnatch'd away from him in a moment, and while he lived to ſee and hear it. To be taken off alſo in the midſt of thoſe great Deſigns which he had projected, and die now, though not at the command, yet

Digitized by Google

at

at the pleasure and desire of all his Enemies, filled him with more Fury then could be expressed. And to all these we may add those horrid tortures which the sage and vertuous *Greeks* affirmed do arise in every Tyrant's breast, from the memory of their past Crimes, when every Vice makes an incurable and insufferable wound, not to be healed or assuaged with the softest Pleasures; when the Tribunals that remain after this life, though to a constant Felicity they appear but like the vanities of a troublesome Dream, yet in the impetuous approach of Death are dressed and armed with real Terrours. We cannot but judge this Tyrant and all such as imitate him, have misery enough in their Ends, to make their ignominious Honours and uncertain Greatness to be unenvied by the most impotent spirits.

Wracked thus in Soul and Body, which were both unequal to such cruel Pangs, and could not last long under the execution, the poisonous humour having invaded every nerve and member, and made an intestine war between life and death; his Mind also torn a pieces with various Lusts and Passions, agreeing neither with it self nor with the Body, but in common Miseries, and either's pains increased with the other's tortures: he was perplexed with another care, how to secure his two young-

Digitized by Google

gest

geſt Children with their Mother *Theagena*; a Woman that was venerable no leſs for her Vertues then for her Beauty, had no other Crime but that ſhe was his Wife, and yet made her ſelf more eminent by this his Fortune. For *he well knew that one Wickedneſs was to be ſecured by another*; and that he which had conſpired the death of the Father, would not ſuffer the Children to grow up to a revenge, nor permit the Wife with her tears to keep alive the hatred of her Husbands murderer, but either divert her Grief with her Diſhonour, or overwhelm it with her Blood. He therefore deſires her to ſecure her ſelf and the common pledges of their love in *Ægypt*, from whence he had married her, and to take with her all his Riches, the Jewels and ornaments of his former Greatneſs, and the ſpoils of oppreſſed and injured Nations, to be their ſubſiſtence in an adverſe Fortune, and to leave the prey of his Kingdome as poor as he could to his violent Succeſſour. That the Tyrant might want no vexation, even the Piety of his Wife was another affliction to him, who denied to obey ſuch ungrateful commands, and adviſed that "*She might not be divorced from him till death* "*had ſealed the bill, that her departure might* "*not be as infamous as was the Parricide* "*of another; for ſhe ſhould ſeem no leſs in-* "*humane in leaving her miſerable Husband,* "*then he was in murdering his Grandfather.*

"*She*

"*She could not forget the laws of wedlock,*
"*though He had raſed out the dictates of Na-*
"*ture; for She had contracted as well with his*
"*adverſe as proſperous fortunes. Nor would*
"*ſhe be unwilling to perform her laſt office, of*
"*receiving the expiring groans of her dying*
"*Husband, and taking care for his honoura-*
"*ble Exequies, though ſhe lived no longer to*
"*mourn for him, and were buried in the ſame*
"*grave with him.* This undeſerved Piety, and the tears of his Children, increaſed the diſtracting ſorrows of him that was forced from longer enjoying ſo rare an example of Love, and could not expreſs any gratitude for it, but bequeath Miſery to Her and her's. This drew an abundance of unfeigned tears to repay her laſt kiſſes. And when his Children bewailed their tortured Father, he mourns over their unkind Deſtinies, who being educated in the ſupremeſt fortune, were now to be expoſed to the extremeſt Dangers. But when for a long time all ſought comforts from one another, and none could give, Neceſſity ſeparated them, and the Tyrant was left a miſerable ſpectacle to every eye, but to ſuch as had been witneſſes of his own Cruelty.

After they were gone, and with them all the comforts of his Life, he ſought for ſome in his Death by revenge. For though all things were conſumed in him, yet his Cruelty ſtrived

Digitized by Google

to

to be immortal. Therefore calling an Assembly of the people; his bloody Soul belched forth through his perjured mouth (where almost all the instruments of Speech were corrupted by the Poison) some half-formed words of Cruelty and Revenge. Inveighing against the Impiety of *Archagathus*, he desired the *Syracusans* "*not to let such a cursed Example, "which might ruine both private Families and "Commonwealths, to pass unpunished; and "that they might doe this, he restores to them "their Liberty, and declares them a free State.* A liberality that Tyrants are never guilty of, but when they cannot keep the power in themselves. Nor did he intend it as a Benefit, but to engage them in Wars; which with all the consequents should force them to those sorrows after his Death which he knew they would not have for it; and that a continued presence of Miseries might make those seem lighter which were past, and the hatred of a living Enemy might alleviate the infamy of a deceased Oppressor. Besides, the habits of Cruelty contracted by Tyrants do make them so unsatiable of blood, and so delighted in publick Calamities, that as by them their Lives and Greatness were maintained, so would they have their Deaths comforted. He that had made the whole *Roman* Empire the Stage of his Cruelty, desired that the world might fall

Digitized by Google

together with him. *Herod*, that had polluted all his Kingdome with Massacres, to temper the people's joy at his Death, would have had some hundreds of the most eminent *Jews* to be slain at his expiring, that so every Family might have something to bewail, and shed tears at his decease. So *Agathocles* (for all Tyrants live and die with the like affections) would have intailed Calamities to the miserable *Syracusans*.

The Tyrant's Tortures still increasing, and Vengeance pursuing him with so slow a pace, as if it had intended to return his own arts of Cruelty upon himself, he lived for some time an horrour to himself, and a loathed burden to all that were about him: and having no Friend to provide for the decency of his departure, or by some care to alleviate his Pains, when the tumours of the poisonous humour had hindred his Voice, so that neither his Complaints nor Threatnings could be understood, *Oxythemis* the *Macedonian* spy, and the *Syracusan*'s false Friend, together with his tired Attendants, laid him before he was dead upon his funeral Pile, and burnt him alive. As soon as he was dead, the *Syracusans* pulled down and broke all his Statues, seized upon his Goods and sold them, and then did by proclamation declare themselves a free People, and

Digitized by Google

and return to their Democratical Government. Thus after he had enslaved his own City twenty eight years, in the seventy second year of his age he came to such a miserable end as his hateful Crimes and Impieties deserved; and not onely the Revenge of Men, but the Justice of Heaven did appear in his Destruction.

The lineaments and proportion of his Body are not recorded by Historians, onely by the sins of his youth it appears that it was a moving object of the Lusts of others, and that it was too fair a fabrick for so wicked a Soul. His actions give us the fullest character of the temper of his Mind. He was quick and apprehensive of every expedient for his enterprizes, industrious and bold in the execution; fitted for Glory, if he had minded Vertue; powerful to perswade, but without Faith in his Promises, or Truth in his Asseverations; adapted to reconcile the Affections of men to himself, but not careful to preserve their Love or continue their Friendship any longer then he had an opportunity to injure those that embraced him; insatiably greedy of Greatness, but a despiser of an honest Fame; of such easie and ductile Passions, that he could temper and compose them according to the necessities of his Designs, and put on whatsoever

Digitized by Google

ſhape his preſent Intereſt required. He was of an obſtinate ſilence to conceal his own Projects, but perſpicacious of the counſels of his Enemies. He was not nice of any Sin, nor fearful of any Ignominy. With all the methods to Tyranny he was acquainted; and wanted not, in an unquiet City, fortunate opportunities of attaining Power. But his Crimes were greater then his Power, and more prodigious then his Fortune: ſo that he ſeemed to be born for the deſtruction of men and ruine of Cities. For from the time that he began to appear as conſiderable in the World, that Age and the Scene whereon he acted was horrid with various Miſeries, terrible, and waſted by many Battels, rent in pieces with diverſe Factions, and even in Peace was full of Cruelty. Deſarts were filled with baniſh'd perſons, the Sea infected with blood, and the Rocks polluted with the putrifying carcaſſes of ſlaughtered Innocents: the Cities of *Sicily*, *Africk* and *Italy* defiled with the frequent Murders of their own Citizens, deformed by many Rapines and Spoils, and ſome of them buried in their own Aſhes. Nor was his barbarous rage ſatisfied with the vexations and tortures of men in their Bodies and Fortunes; but being inſatiable with the Miſeries of Mankind, he endeavoured to deprive them of the comforts of Religion; by murdering the miſerable ſuppli-

ants

Digitized by Google

ants at the Altars of their Gods, razing down their Temples, and sacrilegiously despoiling the Sacred treasures of the testimonies of the Piety of former Ages, he discouraged the future from the worship of their God. He did extirpate all sense of Vertue, by imputing it for a capital Crime; and the glorious acquisition of the People's love by honest arts and generous actions was esteemed by him as a mark for Ruine. Treachery and Perfidiousness were the onely qualities he loved as Vertues in himself, and rewarded in others. He attempted the extinguishing of all Natural affection: To bewail the unhappiness of a tortured Friend was accounted as a design of Revenge and practice of Revolt from the unjust commander. Therefore the tears of pity were mingled with the blood of the compassionate; the Children were murdered that the Father might not perish by a single death. He exposed the Son to the arrow of the Father, and offered the Brother to the Brother's sword.

As his life was spent in these hateful Crimes, so was it ended in horrid tortures, and he could not be said to Die, but to be driven out of the world, and forced from among the Living, after he had lived to see his cursed Issue part miserably perish'd, and part exposed to a

Digitized by Google

certain destruction. Two of his Sons he himself had betraied to the fury of an injured & deserted Army. His third Son was murdered when he had proposed him to Empire, and his slaughtered careass brought to increase the torments of his Soul. His younger Children, who had lived no longer then to be made sensible of the height from which they had fallen, were forced with their Mother to the dangers of Exile, and to perish in an obscure fortune. *Archagathus* his grandchild fell, not long after him, by the same Instrument which he had sollicited to his destruction. For *Manon* proud with the success of having destroied the Old Tyrant, resolved to kill the Young one also: therefore applying himself to the usual arts and waies of alluring the multitude, which are seldome good, he got such a power in the Army, that he slew *Archagathus*, assumed his Command, and would have imposed himself as a Prince upon the People. But the *Syracusans*, that had under the former Tyrant felt the extremest bondage, and since his death tasted the sweetness of Liberty, were tenacious of it, and hoped to maintain it. They therefore sent out their Prætor *Nicetas* with an Army to oppose *Manon*. Who doubting his own Forces were too weak for those of the People, followed the practices of his Corruptor, and called the *Carthaginians* to his assis-

tance:

Digitized by Google

tance: and so engaged the *Syracusans* in a series of Wars, till *Hiero* did become their Prince, who in his private fortune wanted no requisite of a King but a Kingdome, and under him they found the benefits of a lawful Government, and that Liberty is best secured under a Just Prince.

Fallitur, egregio quisquis sub Principe credit
Servitium: Nunquam Libertas gratior extat
Quam sub Rege pio——

FINIS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google